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THE DEATH PENALTY.

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THE execution by electricity which has recently taken place has brought to the surface of general discussion a subject of the greatest concern to society at large. Upon the electric chair at Auburn was focussed the high light of a world-wide interest. It was promised that the new method of getting rid of a murderer should be an improvement upon all others. History must now record its failure from many points of view. When the harrowing details of the death chamber were tingled along the telegraph wires of the country, and their impulses were throbbled through the cable, the entire civilized world viewed the scene with astonished horror. The criminal became a martyr and the manner of his execution was anathematized by the daily press as a disgrace to civilization. He came to it submissively, trusting to an easy death, but was killed like a writhing dog. He kept his promise to do as well as he could, and the only mercy was that he was rendered unconscious from the first. Viewed even as a scientific operation, however, it transcended in apparent brutality anything that can be imagined. And yet this was claimed to be the true and improved way of doing it. This, too, after all the discussion by expert electricians, after all the experiments upon the lower animals, after the careful examination of the power of different machines, the accurate measurement of volts, the elaborate estimation of resistance to currents, and the exhaustive study of the generating power of different dynamos. It was the first dreadful trial on a human being to measure the terrible force of quickly repeated lightning strokes against his vital tenacity.

Seemingly every precaution had been taken to make the result a certainty, when exactly the opposite was proved.

As now shown there was no accurate and reliable way of determining positively when real death occurred. None of the experts dared examine the victim while the deadly current was coursing through its circuit. No one could go near to feel the pulse, or to listen to the heart beat. All the chances were taken upon the actual number of seconds required to make life extinct. That there was an error of judgment in that regard was shown in the respiratory struggles of the criminal after the first shock was administered. Although there was no more pain or agony during these efforts than if the man had been under the influences of an anæsthetic and had been undergoing a severe surgical operation, there was scarcely less doubt, under such conditions, that he might not have rallied if the shock had not been repeated. Viewed from such standpoints it can hardly be claimed that the first use of electricity as a means of producing death easily, quickly, and as some have claimed "pleasantly," was, by any means, a success. All this was done for the sake of making an improvement upon the other forms of execution. When, however, we compare electricide with these, we are forced to admit that it utterly failed to meet the extravagant claims of its advocates. The scene in the death chamber was well calculated to impress any impartial observer with this fact. For the poor victim's sake we are glad to believe that he suffered no pain, but at the first stroke he was simply shocked, not killed, then after a torturingly long interval the shock was repeated and continued, until the burning flesh of his back demonstrated that the sacrifice had been complete. From the administration of the first stroke until the second circuit was finally interrupted, five minutes and twenty-eight seconds elapsed. In view of these facts it can hardly be said that the execution was a speedy one, certainly not as quick as lightning. That the murderer suffered nothing is no argument in favor of the apparent brutality of failing to kill him at the first blow, then striking him again and accidentally roasting him afterwards. The start was well enough, perhaps, but who can contemplate the finish without a shudder. The only comfort those can take who have advocated the new plan, is that the first current was a stunning one. But in the other methods of inflicting the death penalty is there more suffering?

Excepting perhaps the Russian plan of execution by the knout — beating the life out of the victim with a loaded lash — the dreadful element of pain to the individual is hardly worthy of consideration. The guillotine is certainly very rapid in its action, and, as far as can be judged by analogy with similar phenomena all sensation is abolished on the instant of the stroke. The communication with the pain centres is at once cut off, and the sensation current is instantly interrupted. The only revolting part of the proceeding is the necessary shedding of blood; but this, scripturally speaking, should render the killing contract more valid. As to rapidity and effectiveness the same thing is done with the heavy Japanese sword, and with scarcely less precision. The Spanish garrotte crushes the cervical spine and upper spinal cord by means of a screw quickly working through the back of an iron collar. Death here is practically instantaneous. The same may be said also of hanging. The instant the noose tightens its choking grip, consciousness is gone. The contorting spasms of the larger muscles are merely involuntary movements that have no connection with appreciable pain. At least, this is the testimony of men who have been cut down while insensible from attempted suicide by such means, or who have been similarly rescued from accidental hanging. When there has been bungling, the rope should not be blamed. Even the electric chair may not have had its chance.

The objection to hanging on the grounds of simple humanity has been that some moments must elapse before actual death can be a certainty. When the neck is not broken (and this is the rule), the heart continues to beat in a more or less irregular manner for several minutes after the suspension. But if the hanging is properly done, death is always sure and there are never any attempts, reflex or otherwise, at respiration. The victim, free from pain and absolutely unconscious after the first convulsive throes, swings motionless in mid air, a limpid nothing of humanity. Unconsciousness and consequent loss of sensation are in such instances evidently due to the combined effects of the shock of the fall and of the congestive brain pressure caused by the grip of the noose.

Of the five forms of execution now in vogue, that adopted by military tribunals is open to the most objections. The

bullet oftentimes misses its aim and a vital part is not always struck. There is a sentiment associated with dying a soldier's death that cancels in a measure its otherwise revolting aspect. It is well-known that no individual of the firing squad is aware that his particular rifle is loaded with ball and he naturally hopes it is not. There is never a heart in the work of shooting a comrade. The aim is almost purposely wide of its mark and consequently with a risk to the condemned man, of pain and suffering when death is not speedy. In times of war, when military executions are most frequent, the life of an ordinary soldier is of such small value that little if any attention is given to technical details, and still less is any criticism invited as to the mere humanity of the proceeding.

In studying the technique of executions it is interesting to note a desire on the part of those who believe in these forms of punishment, to inflict as little suffering as possible upon the condemned one. This is as it should be and is so far a credit to our present civilization. Those who hold a contrary view are happily in the very small minority. There is only pity for such as claim that the more severe, revolting, and cruel we make an execution, the better will it serve its purpose. It is to be regretted, in this age of enlightenment, liberality, and progress, that even clergymen should be found among the staunch advocates of this obnoxious doctrine. By their training and mission it would be quite reasonable to expect from them something in advance of the religion of the fire and the sword. Thinking men now ask a better argument for revenge than the quotation of a text or the literal interpretation of a scriptural injunction. Strange to say in a newspaper column of personal interviews representing the opinions of scores of leading preachers there was scarcely a man among them who was not in favor of some form of capital punishment, and not one who was not willing to advise it as a last and effectual remedy for murder. Such conclusions are, to say the least, sorry comments upon a gospel which for nearly nineteen centuries has lent its best efforts towards Christianizing humanity. "But," say the advocates of this doctrine, "executions are highly beneficial in that the very horror which attends them acts as a direct preventive of similar crimes in others. Capital punishment has a direct deterrent effect upon murder. This is its chief, if not only

aim." Let us candidly inquire if this is really so. How much of truth and fact is on their side?

Viewing this question of the death penalty in its broadest sense, we are led to look at it from many aspects. What effect, for instance, has it upon a murder already committed? It certainly does not cure the crime. That is past cure. The deed is done and the victim is beyond help. We cannot remedy one murder by committing another. Whether this is under the sanction of law or not does not alter the principle upon which this so-called justice is founded. Retribution in this sense is but another name for revenge. When we stigmatize it thus, we approach the real point at issue. Society has no more moral right to take this punishment upon itself than has an individual who is the nearest of kin to the victim. The law holds the matter in its own hands on the plea that the murderer shall have a fair trial. So far there is a show of justice in the proceeding; but if found to be guilty, the result to the culprit is the same. Society then simply revenges the death, instead of allowing any single individual to do so. So far as the criminal is concerned, we have done nothing more than kill him. It has been an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. The account in this respect is squared up,—blood for blood. The crime of murder is expiated—technically and judicially speaking, remedied.

To such as believe in the deterrent effect of execution it may be well to consider the uncertainty of convictions for murder. It is fair to presume that the reasonable hope of escaping the gallows offsets in no small degree the fear of it. No sooner is the crime committed than the legal adviser is consulted, and, in the majority of cases, fulfils his promise to obtain a verdict of acquittal. Conviction thus becomes the exception rather than the rule. The criminal classes know this and act accordingly. An experienced criminal lawyer of New York is quoted as saying that of nearly six hundred cases of murder of which he was the counsel, scarcely a score were punished. The lesson which this teaches cannot be misinterpreted; the criminal who is actually sentenced and executed, is looked upon more as an unfortunate victim of the law than one who justly deserved his punishment. He has a funeral largely attended by sympathizing friends who never tire in praising his noble, plucky, but untimely death.

He is the hero of the hour, with virtues that invite emulation, rather than the criminal whose disgraceful end should be a lasting example to all evil doers. Of course it is hardly to be expected that the murderer should confess his guilt. He thus leaves nothing behind him for good. He simply goes to glory an innocent man and the hanging lesson thus endeth. A lie is, to all intents and purposes, not a lie when uttered under the gallows. A murderer facing death is the last person in the world from whom a good moral precept can be extracted. As an example he is by no means a success, and consequently has no very striking deterrent effect upon the community. What could be expected from hanging what the victim says is an innocent man? We get him out of the way in a very radical manner, to be sure, but do we do so as a warning to others of his ilk? Do they profit by it? Take up the morning papers and read of murder everywhere. In the next column to the report of the execution is that of an assassination in broad daylight and in a public thoroughfare. The execution was horrible, so was the new murder. They occur entirely independent of each other, it is true, but the coincidence is quite striking enough to shake our faith in the deterrent theory. Even to ordinary observation it is quite evident that murders are not on the decrease; on the contrary, if we interest ourselves enough to count them as they are reported almost daily, we are inclined to take the opposite view. If, however, we attempt to solve the reasons for the commission of crime as we would any other problem and look for an explanation of apparent inconsistencies, some very interesting and instructive explanations offer themselves. And, strangely enough, all these facts are directly opposed to the ordinarily accepted doctrine of prevention; in truth the fear of death by execution is so far in the background as hardly to be worthy of consideration. To properly appreciate their significance we must study the philosophy of crime not only as regards the individual criminal, but also in his relation to society.

Let us get at this part of the question as directly as possible by asking, what is murder? In the vast majority of cases it is an accident of passion in an individual who has lost his self-control. He is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a weak vessel, a crooked pot that has been jarred out of his equilibrium. He tumbles over and we smash him

in pieces accordingly. He was born crooked; we are hardly prepared to discover that the criminal is born not made. But this can be proved to be true, nevertheless. There is as much heredity in crime as in consumption, cancer, or insanity. The statistics of prisons show that crime in one shape or another can trickle through families even to the sixth generation. With insanity this is notoriously so. The records of our insane asylums are filled with such histories. Occasionally the criminal proclivities, eccentricities, and other mental defects of ancestry are the subjects of legal inquiry before the courts, but as this is done more to prove hereditary insanity than to excuse crime, sociologists have been compelled to look to other sources for their data. The criminal belongs to a class distinct in itself, which has its own peculiarities, its own statistics, its own laws, and its well-defined relation to society. He comes into the world with a defect in his moral constitution and unless this is counteracted by the proper educating influences, he is in the long run as sure to commit crime as are the sparks to fly upward. The seed always produces its kind in the proper soil. The criminal will always fit his environment. The murder, for instance, is the fruition of the seed in the proper ground. The act is almost an instinct of his living. To prevent it would be to kill him before, not after it is done, or, better still, we should be able to forbid the matrimonial bans of his ancestors. All this goes to show how far back lie the causes of the crime. It is a latent principle in his very blood that awaits the ferment of unguarded passion.

These seeds of crime are being sown constantly in our midst, and in the present state of society such will be the case, do what we will to prevent it. We can no more guard against this condition of things by executing criminals than we can by destroying the fruit of one seed hinder other and similar seeds from taking root. We are thus attacking the effect rather than the cause. But the real cause in the individual is mostly beyond our reach. We have no means of knowing his proclivities towards murder until the deed is done. Even if it were otherwise the gallows would have no more terrors for him than for any other man. Until after the murder is accomplished he has been accustomed to believe that the guillotine or the rope was intended for some one else. No individual, no matter how depraved he is, ever expects

to be a murderer, and, consequently, he never feels the need of the lesson from the scaffold. If he learns it at all, it is too late either to do any good to his victim or himself.

We say that it is necessary when deeds are done that man should fit his environment. It is quite true that society in its retroactive influence has as much to do with the commission of the crime as does the criminal. There is a social as well as a physical law for crime. Given a certain condition of society and the ratio of murders is always the same, no matter how severe the punishment for the crime may be. The mere fear of the death sentence apparently has no effect upon the would-be criminal. If it were otherwise, we should expect a proportionate decrease in the number of murders committed as compared with the number and severity of the executions. But, strangely enough, the number of murders never varies. It is as constant as the birth rate and the death rate. We have an individual with certain instincts on one side and a certain condition of his surroundings on the other, and we predicate the result with a mathematical certainty.

It may be a comforting thought that crime is prevented by punishment, that a great many who might be murderers are deterred from becoming such by the death penalty, but we have no means of proving it. It is hard to estimate how a thing which does not happen is prevented from happening. When we argue from such premises, we are swinging around a circle of negative proportions. When, however, we start from a fixed point, when we actually know the exact rates of certain crimes, we expect if there is any good in certain so called deterrent influences, to see the results in lowering the crime record. If the fear of death has had any real influence in that direction, it should have shown itself long ago. It has had no effect on the criminals who crop up year after year, keeping the roster full. Why did not the last murderer fear the gallows in time to avoid it? We know he did not, that the next criminal will not, and yet we go on talking of the necessity for capital punishment. If fear of the death penalty deserved a tithe of its claim as a preventive of murder, the crime would long ago have been banished from the face of the earth. It should certainly have proved its utility by this time. No matter what theory may be advanced as to the prevention of murder, it is quite

evident that the fear of execution is not one that can be demonstrated by the facts of experience. So far as we can see, the dread does not show itself until the criminal cools his passion and has opportunities for reflection.

Naturally at this stage of the discussion comes the question, Why kill the criminal at all? If society wishes to enforce the estimation of the value and sanctity of human life, why does it take life itself for any reason? Even an enlightened and powerful commonwealth has no excuse for allowing two murders for one crime. If we really desired to show our horror of killing, we should have it understood by word and act that so precious is human life that even the murderer shall not be deprived of it.

When we are unable to prove that execution has a deterrent effect upon murder, when we do not wish to have it said that such a punishment is dictated by revenge, the real question narrows itself to that of protecting society by doing away with the criminal in the simplest and most effectual manner. Practically in the present state of our knowledge everything must turn upon this. But must we necessarily kill him to get rid of him? Life imprisonment becomes the only satisfactory solution to this problem. Society by such means absolves itself from the crime of a second murder, and as securely guards itself from future harm as if the criminal were dead already. The culprit is simply left to his own punishment, which is ample and severe enough. What, indeed, is more dreadful than the remorse of a blighted life; what greater torture could be devised by the most revengeful man? No argument is needed to prove this. History and fiction vie with each other in depicting the horrors of a bad conscience. The most thrilling terrors have it as their dark background. It is the cold shadow by day and the black wing by night. There need be no fear on the part of those who even believe in the severest measures on punishing murder that imprisonment ~~for~~ life is not sufficient. Even the majority of criminals prefer hanging when they know that this form of confinement is sure. In order to be effective, however, it must be so. The conviction of the murderer must be certain. Let the trial be as thorough as law and justice can make it, but let the sentence be final, without the chance of technical appeal, executive clemency, or other hope for pardon. Let the criminal know and feel that there is

nothing for him outside of his cell, that he is as dead to the world as if he had swung upon the gibbet. When he is made to realize this, he has the mark of Cain upon him, and his punishment is as great as he can bear. It is not difficult to imagine that the knowledge of such a fate awaiting the wrong doer would have a far more deterrent effect than the most horrible execution imaginable. It has been often said that you cannot put a man to a worse use than to kill him. This is eminently true, even with a criminal. Something good can be obtained from the most depraved characters. They can at least be made to work and thereby benefit society. Better still, perhaps, they may be forced to support by their labor the family of their victim.

Viewing the murderer as a bad man and one who is in danger of contaminating his fellow prisoners, it would be necessary to keep him by himself—a moral leper from whom others should be protected. An effectual way of accomplishing this would be the construction of prisons in each State solely for murderers, and the placing of them in charge of experienced disciplinarians, who should have ample powers for carrying out the strictest letter of the law.

Scientifically speaking, if such prisons were established, much good might be gained by the study of criminal character. Everything is to be learned in this direction, if we would gain a rational insight of the causes and prevention of crime. The want of some positive knowledge on these points explains, in part at least, the reason why we still kill murderers. We should study their characteristics as we do the symptoms of a disease, as we do fevers in our hospitals and insanity in our asylums. What valuable statistics could thus be obtained if the hereditary predispositions that worked their sad result in each case could be properly classified, if the influences of particular environments upon the individual could be carefully noted and if the varied psychological processes which made murder almost a foregone conclusion could be rightly understood; we could thus make an autopsical examination of the dead character as effectually useful in the collection of trustworthy data, as we could a similar study by the use of the dissecting knife upon an equally veritable cadaver. Let us punish the criminal if we will; let us brand him with his mark; let us show, if you please, that society is outraged by his doings; let us make his pun-

ishment as severe as possible and thus deter others from crime if we can,—but while we are looking for more light let us study him, not kill him. There are laws for crime which are as well founded as those for the winds, the tides, light and darkness, birth and death, even suicide and so-called accident. The whole philosophy of jurisprudence must be based upon a proper understanding of them. Exhaustive statistics are at hand waiting for the earnest student to marshal them in the lines of legitimate deduction. We may yet discover where the real responsibility for crime belongs; we may be able in time to demonstrate which is most to blame, the instincts of the criminal or the influences of the society in which he lives and moves. But what if in the end society itself were found most at fault in the first as well as in the second killing? What new application could then be made for the deterrent doctrine with the blood-cry of the common murderer in our ears? How could justice strike the balance? On which side would the weight of censure be placed? Might not even the death chair itself be the fitting judgment seat from which to pass the sentence?

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AND THE CATHOLIC REACTION.

BY JAMES T. BIXBY, PH. D.

THE chemists tell us that when a saturated solution has stood in quiet for a certain length of time, it reaches a state, in which the dropping of the most infinitesimal grain into the solution, will suddenly solidify the whole mass. The crystals were already to set, every molecule of the fluid polarized, and it only needed the slightest jar of the liquid to transform it into a mass of crystals.

The intellectual atmosphere of England between 1830 and 1840 was in just this condition of unstable equilibrium; ready for crystallization in a new form. The influences that had dominated the intellectual aspirations of Europe through the first quarter of this century were already spent, or fast dying out. In the impassioned stanzas of Byron and Shelley, and in the early strains of Wordsworth and Schiller, we still hear the voice of the Revolution, shouting forth its defiance or exulting in the perfection which humanity should attain to, when custom, law, and tradition were abolished. By the end of the third decade of the century, the vanity of these generous illusions had become too sadly evident. Liberty had been found to be far other than a panacea to all the evils of the world. The adored progress seemed to be a crab which led the world backward into anarchy, scepticism, and despondence.

It was only natural, then, that reaction should take place, and that the new idols should be thrown down and the old divinities reinstated.

The fresh recollections of the guillotine's work in Paris, and the Reign of Terror, over which a goddess of Reason presided, made the very names of Liberty and free thought distasteful. The ebb tide swept men's sympathies with unprecedented force toward absolutism in politics and tra-

ditionalism in religion. The latter was but another aspect of the former. The same retreating wave that gave the politics of that age the Holy Alliance, and in art, developed the Romantic School, with its mediæval sentimentalities and quaintnesses, naturally tended in the religious fields to bring back the faith and ritualism of the olden days.

In 1822, Comte had proclaimed to an approving world that theology was a stage of development belonging only to the infancy of the race and the credulity of childhood. In less than twenty years, however, the burning questions that agitate Universities are those relating to candles on altars and albs and dalmatics on rectors' shoulders, and the scholarly reviews teem with articles on the Tridentine decrees, the usage of priestly confession, and the dogma of Apostolic succession.

This was the movement that on the continent became the Ultramontaniam, which has put Catholicism everywhere on the aggressive, and regained for it strongholds that for centuries it had seemed idle for it to dream of recovering. In England, it gave rise, first, within the heart of the Established Church, to that Tractarian or Oxford movement, which has now made the High Church the most influential of all parties in the Anglican establishment; and secondly, to that Catholic reaction, which sent for forty years a constantly increasing stream of secessionists out of the national church of England into the pale of Rome.

The leader and representative of this movement was John Henry Newman. He it was who, at the critical epoch, by his potent personal magnetism, first drew the scattered forces together, and then, out of the midst of the clouds, discharged the bolt, which shook the Protestant world as perhaps no other ecclesiastical event has ever shaken it. There are many other notable names connected with the High Church reaction,—the saintly Keble, the author of the "Christian Year"; Hurrell Froude, the brilliant and dashing Fairfax of the movement; Dr. Pusey, the learned scholar, after whom this school of thought was sometimes called the Puseyite.

But Newman was, as Froude says, "the true chief of the Catholic revival. To him, if to any one man, the world owes the intellectual recovery of Romanism." He was from the outset, both the Moses and the Aaron of the new Exodus; the one man without whom, humanly speaking, it was impossible that the Romanism, which fifty years ago was a

dying creed in England, should to-day boast such illustrious converts and even indulge hope of yet seeing rebellious England turn its face to Rome as a penitent prodigal returns to the bosom of the Mother Church.

His younger brother, Francis, speaks of John Henry Newman as "having a temper imperious and wilful, but along with it a most attractive gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose, and the faculty of attracting to himself the passionate devotion of friends and followers." So ardent and almost unquestioning was this personal devotion among the young students grouped around him at Oxford, that Whately well satirized the Tractarian movement as simply "Newmania" and it was said, in reply to those who wanted to know what the belief of its members were, that with many of them their creed had only one article — "Credo in Newmannum;" i. e. I believe in Newman.

In Newman's earlier life, we find him tossed to and fro by contradictory tendencies. At an early age he exhibited a strong leaven of scepticism. He doubted the existence of any reality beyond phenomena, and supposed that all things external were an illusion. At the age of fourteen, he found pleasure in thinking of Tom Paine's objections against the Old Testament, and, in one of his University sermons, vindicated the principles of Hume's Essay on Miracles, though asserting that Hume had misapplied them.

Side by side with these doubting tendencies of his intellect, stood and struggled the believing instincts of his heart.

Under the influence of Rev. Walter Mayer's sermons, he experienced an inward conversion, of which he says, "I felt more certain of it than that I had hands and feet." Fired with enthusiasm for evangelical views, he became a prominent advocate of them. His reverence for bishops however was, from his early days, intense; and his brother Francis tells how sternly he reproved him for some careless remarks about these ecclesiastical functionaries. To John Henry, the bishops seemed, even in these early days, beings of some supernatural order.

While in the realm of the intellect, he was ever a doubting Thomas, in the realm of the heart he was a Saint John, or one might rather say a Tertullian, to whom the impossibility of understanding a doctrine was always the chief reason why it should be believed.

It is the conflict between these two opposing elements in his nature which explains the eccentricities and final end of his career. His subtle reason and wide ranging research were continually finding some new objection to traditional faith. The pious sentiment within him recoiled with horror before the chasm, and as he felt that he must escape it some way, he deliberately shut his eyes, and accepted as a manifest oracle whatever would give the pleasant assurance that there was no chasm there at all.

When, for example, he learned from Dr. Hawkins that there were weighty grounds for suspicion as to the infallibility of the books and canon of Scripture, and that the sacred text was never intended to teach the orthodox doctrines, his conclusion was, not that these doctrines better be dropped, but that we should fall back on the fortress of tradition and Church authority and there intrench ourselves.

When, under the guidance of Butler, he finds only a group of probabilities as the basis of the idea of God, and that the dogmas of the Church are shrouded in mystery, at once, he discerns in this cloud of doubt the plain necessity of believing in a visible Church, with bishops standing in the place of God, lineal inheritors and guardians of religious truth unto men. Man must have unerring instinct; unshakable conviction of religious truth. It was a necessity of human nature; at least of his nature, which had a perfect horror of uncertainty. And, therefore, he felt it to be a matter of spiritual life and death, to believe, and make the world believe, in that theory of the Church as God's vicegerent and authoritative representative on earth, which could alone give absolute certainty in matters of faith.

It was thus that the very activity and subtlety of his reason led him to disparage and renounce it, and erect above it the fictitious oracle of an infallible Church. Dogma he assumed to be Divine Truth. From the age of fifteen, he says, "Dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion. I know no other religion,—I cannot enter into the idea of any other religion." Liberalism was anti-dogma and therefore always to be combated. Free thought was to Newman the very spirit of Anti-Christ.

His mind had already moved fast and far in this direction, when certain political and ecclesiastical changes fanned his glowing piety to a white heat. Some sinecure bishoprics in

Ireland had been suppressed, and some Church property confiscated by the infidel Whigs. His indignation could no longer be restrained from public expression. With a dozen other congenial spirits, who like him held the Established Church of England to be no "dissident Protestant" body, but the Church, in the only true sense, the rightful heir and representative of the Apostolic Communion, and who delighted in the mediæval saints and their miracles, revered the Church Fathers as better authority than the Bible, and utterly detested any union of Church and State, Newman plunged into the fray. He preached sermons and wrote tracts of the most uncompromising and startling order. He declared his conviction that "it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself." His ambition was to restore primitive Christianity. He declared his admiration of the Church of Rome, and condemned the Reformation as a mistake; held up antiquity as the interpreter of Scripture, and by the keenest intellectual sleight of hand sought to prove that the Articles of the Church of England themselves were in harmony with these views.

His boldness electrified the multitude of young men at the Universities who were dissatisfied with the general deadness of the Churches, and the movement spread with amazing rapidity.

Thus the Anglo-Catholics, as they called themselves, soon became a power in the National Church and an object of alarm to her rulers and friends. It was not long, however, before the movement over-shot its goal.

As fast as Newman converted his admiring hearers and readers to his Anglo-Catholicism, and persuaded them to recognize in the authority of tradition, in the mass, in purgatory, and infallible councils, the doctrines which had been the ancient faith of Christendom, there arose the question, "Are these doctrines to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles, and if they are repudiated there, how can the Church of England be a branch of the Church Catholic?"

In the famous tract, No. 90, Newman tried to minimize these discrepancies, and show that the Articles were quite as capable of being interpreted in a Catholic sense as in a Protestant.

He argued that the Articles were not directed against

Catholic doctrines, but the popular abuse of those doctrines; the articles were legal documents, and therefore not to be interpreted by the opinions of the bishops who framed it, but, like other legal documents, by the letter and the text; and whatever Catholic doctrine was not expressly forbidden and pronounced against, it was still open to the Anglicans to hold.

To his opponents and to the public at large, this seemed mere quibbling and subterfuge. Everyone knew that the English Church meant to leave, and did leave the Roman fold. The Articles were the battlements within which Protestantism in England had intrenched itself against the beleaguering hosts of the Papacy. And now, Newman was undermining these battlements and knocking breaches through them everywhere. There was a general outcry against him, as a traitor in the camp. So high did the excitement run that the Episcopal authorities themselves at last took up the matter. His own bishop declared that Newman by the verbal evasions of his so-called interpretations, "would make the Articles mean anything or nothing" and he was requested to discontinue the publication of any more tracts.

To the Anglo-Catholic movement this was a crushing blow. The principle of their whole propaganda was to exalt the authority of the Church, and its officers. Newman regarded his bishop as his Pope, and now, these authorities themselves had condemned his views.

The dismay of his party, as Newman himself has wittily said, was like that of the sailors in the Arabian tale, who mistook a whale for an island, and when they had struck their anchors in the supposed soil, lighted their fires and spread their tents, suddenly saw the island heave, splash, dive, and swim away, spouting out inhospitable jets of water on the credulous mariners who had made it their home.

Where, then, should Newman and his friends go? It was evident that their position was an untenable one. They must retreat, or go straight on, breaking through the pale of the established Church. It was evident to all the lookers on, that this latter was the only logical course. Newman's *Via Media*, as he called it, twist about as it might, must at last end in Rome. But for a long time he vacillated. He could not bear to take a leap, that would wrench all his sympathies and sensibilities (always with Newman his

ultimate test of right thought and action) as this would. So, as a witty follower of his describes him, — "He sat on the top of the fence, with his feet hanging toward the road, as if he meant to take his time and let himself down easily."

But when, by and by, in his historical researches he found that his Anglo-Romanism was just such an attitude as the Monophysite heretics had taken in the fourth century, and when an acute critic compared his position to that of the schismatic Donatists; when the Bishops, by their condemnation of the principles of his movement, practically said, "We do not aspire to Catholicity," and by their action in the matter of the Jerusalem Bishopric and elsewhere showed that they did not think that either heresy or schism was as bad a thing as intolerance, — then he felt himself forced to say farewell to the Church in which he was born. He could bear patiently all manner of taunting and insinuations, accusations of inconsistency, of double dealing, and hypocrisy, and abuse of his position as a church-man; but to find a speck of heresy on his garments, or to be mixed up with schismatics and seceders from the ancient church, such as Lutherans or Calvinists,—*this* was too much for him. He resigned his living, and after a brief period of further deliberation, sent for Father Domine, the Passionist, and gave in his submission to Rome. Henceforth he felt at rest; — he had made "the grand renunciation" as he believed; he had found the one ancient fold of Christ, and to its authoritative holders of the keys, he had irrevocably delivered up his reason, with all its questionings, to be guided by them in all things.

Henceforth, as he said, there is no history of his opinions, no variations in them. Because, henceforth, it has been the Church, that has decided for him; his concern has been simply to accept and defend what has been given to him.

He recognized clearly the difficulties in many of the Catholic doctrines. But he did not allow these difficulties to lead him to doubt them. He held his reason, for the future, strictly under the orders of the Church. And whenever it bid him swallow an intellectual chestnut-burr, he unhesitatingly gulped the burr, using his understanding only to smooth its downward passage with as good a salve of special pleading as possible. As to the doctrine of transubstantiation, e. g., he says, "I cannot indeed prove it:

I cannot tell how it is; but I say — why should it not be? what's to hinder? what do I know of substance or matter? Just as much as the greatest philosophers, and that is, — nothing at all."

When the dogma of the Papal Infallibility was proposed, Newman wrote strongly against it and described its promoters as an "insolent faction." But immediately it was adopted, he submissively ate his own words. "He is not the true churchman," Newman once said, "who believes in the Church *because* it is in the right, but he who accepts it humbly, without presuming to ask any such question."

To a convert of such fame, influence, and ability, coming in such a spirit, preceded by numerous friends and disciples, forwarded by his own teachings, the Roman Church naturally gave the heartiest welcome, and advanced him step by step to the highest dignities.

For years he was their intellectual leader and chief apostle to the Gentile world of English culture and rank. In his own church, he became Cardinal and an influence almost unequalled; and in the Protestant world, he retained the esteem and affection even of those who have most stoutly combated his arguments.

When he first renounced Protestantism, he was widely suspected and openly charged with duplicity of dealing in remaining so long in the Established Church, while propagating views that had no other logical or practical ending than in the Church of Rome. But by the light thrown so candidly on the workings of his mind by his autobiographic account of them in his "Apologia," his perfect honesty has been generally recognized. The fact is that for years, — the years in which he was most before the public, his own mind was thoroughly unsettled, and the very keenness and subtlety of his intellect, continually finding new distinctions, ever discovering new logical hairs to split, 'twixt north and north-west side, prevented him from seeing (what all about him saw) that there was no resting place for a mind such as his but in the Church of Rome. The moth might flutter and wheel wildly round and round the candle, but its eyes were already dazed, its wings scorched, and it must soon drop among the host of intellectual suicides that strew the soil of the Roman Church.

But how was it possible that an acute and candid reason

like Newman's, thoroughly educated and enlightened, acquainted with all modern science, philosophy, and history, starting in the freedom and light of Protestantism, could yet renounce it and lay down his independent judgment, as a sacrifice, which he fancied well pleasing to God, on the altar of the Roman Church?

That seems an unaccountable mystery. It is, and it is not. Given a nature with those contending forces, that intensity of opposing elements that were in Newman, and it is not an unnatural result. Had either his faith been less passionate or his understanding less keen, he would have lived and died where he was brought up. But as it was, his ecclesiastical migration was a rational as well as a sentimental necessity.

To the illogical there are a hundred half-way houses on the road of faith. To the logical only two stations. "Reason, or Rome," as Dr. Hedge says; "there is no *middle ground*."

John Henry Newman illustrated the law on one side as noticeably as his brother Francis did on the other. The very same arguments and researches that drove the author of the *Phases of Faith*, step by step, to a philosophic Radicalism, drove the other brother to surrender his clearest perceptions to the ipse-dixits of a priest in the Vatican, whose inferiority to himself in knowledge and personal power of discerning truth, none knew better than Newman himself.

It is interesting to see how Newman builds up his system from his primary assumptions, to the crowning pinnacle of the temple, the infallibility of the Pope. Granting the first assumptions, it is erected with admirable consistency.

These assumptions are the two opposite beliefs, that God demands on the one hand, as the condition of our salvation, a certain knowledge and dogmatic faith; and on the other hand, that the intellectual and moral nature which God has given to His children is incompetent to provide this saving knowledge and faith. "The tendency of the reason," he holds, "is towards a simple unbelief in matters of religion. No truth, however sacred, can stand against it, in the long run."

As Newman looks upon the blind evolution of the world as if from unreasoning elements, the curtain hung over futurity, the defeat of good, the success of evil, the preva-

lence and intensity of sin, the dreary, hopeless irreligion of the whole race (as Newman gloomily paints it, in the "Apologia," p. 242), he is appalled with the sense of a profound mystery. This reason-bewildering fact forces upon him the alternative that either there is no Creator, or this living society of men is in a true sense discarded from His presence.

The instincts of faith will not allow him to believe that there is *no* God. And so, he argues, the human race is implicated in some terrible aboriginal calamity. The burdened conscience pronounces that man is in chronic alienation from God. Not only is the Creator far off, but some being of malignant nature seems to have got hold of us and to be making us his sport.

Thus "the doctrine of what is theologically called original sin becomes to me," says Newman, "almost as certain as that the world exists and the existence of God" (p. 243, "Apologia").

This is the basal assumption of Newman's theology; and where this is once laid down, the rest easily follows.

Human nature naturally is inclined to evil and the reason to scepticism. There is needed then some concrete representative of the Divine Power which may have the force and the sternness to muzzle and chain up this wilful human nature in its onward course and bring it into subjection; to hold in check this capricious, misleading reason. And if there be a God, Newman argues, he would, he must, intervene in human affairs and make provision for retaining in the world a knowledge of himself that would be proof against the energy of human scepticism. He would introduce into the world a divinely accredited messenger, and institute a Church invested with infallibility, able and ready to "ban and anathematize the rebellion" in human race, and "smite hard and throw back the immense energy of the aggressive, capricious, untrustworthy intellect."

The claim of the Catholic Church to possess this power has a fitness to the needs of humanity, he says, that recommends it to his mind and makes him accept it as a fact. The only remedy for our guilt and moral impotence is the atonement of Christ. The only remedy for our intellectual darkness and obliquity is in accepting the testimony of the Church as our unerring oracle.

Christianity must be recognized as supernatural in origin and constantly supported in its rites and ordinances by the active interposition of that Omnipotence in which the religion long ago began.

First and above all, he says, is the holy mass, in which he who died for us on the cross, brings back and perpetuates by his literal presence in it, that one and the same sacrifice that cannot be repeated.

Next, there is the actual entrance of God himself, soul and body and divinity, into the soul and body of every worshipper, who comes to Him for the gift.

Christianity, in Newman's view, is not to be looked upon for a moment as a mere collection of truths, nor as a moral reform, nor a religious life and spirit; but as an authoritative Divine teaching, directly given from above; as a supernatural grace, transmitted to us by the holy aqueduct of the Church, — a thing which men are not to examine and test, by their own sense of right and truth, but receive and obey, as soldiers do their general.

Belief is not so much a matter of the satisfaction of the understanding as of the heart; not of evidence, but of testimony to the Apostolic date and universality of a dogma.

Not a few Catholics, like St. George Mivart, Laménais and Montalembert, e. g., have sought to reconcile their church with progress, liberty, and modern discovery. But Newman always held himself high above any such weakness. He repudiated them all, and put in a black list the errors of modern thought that he renounced and abjured. It includes all the most cherished first principles of Protestantism and religious liberty, such as (to give a few out of his long list of heresies) that there is a right of private judgment in reasoning and judging about the Bible; that it is immoral in a man to believe more than he can spontaneously receive as being congenial to his moral and mental nature; that the civil power may dispose of church property without sacrilege; that the people are the legitimate source of power; that virtue is the child of knowledge and vice of ignorance, etc.

All such principles are to him the springs of soul-destroying error. He therefore makes no compromise with modern progress and sticks at no miracles or incomprehensibilities in the church creed. Having made up his mind to take the ecclesiastical prescription, he will make no more ado over

swallowing a camel than a gnat. As he says himself, "If I must submit my reason to mysteries, it is little matter whether it be a mystery more or a mystery less. The main difficulty was to believe at all."

Such in outline is Cardinal Newman's faith. I have not reproduced, I could not, of course, reproduce the grace and vigor of style, the perspicuity and eloquence of expression with which he has clothed it in his sermons and public expositions. It contains not a few wholesome truths,—which he has marshalled with great effectiveness. His movement was probably not without good, in rousing the English Church from its dull indifference, the mechanical running through of a routine of duties in which it was sunk fifty years ago, and rousing it to a more vivid sense of its responsibilities and of a more energetic and beneficent church life. It revived, as no other movement of modern times, the grandeur and force of historical communion and the true place of beauty and art in worship. Its vision of the church as a great visible organism, a living incarnation of superhuman truth, and the vehicle, through its sacraments, of divine life, a communion of believers, one, holy, catholic, and apostolic, is one that powerfully impresses the imagination; and to deliver up to the authoritative heads of such a church the care of one's reason and conscience, and wash one's hands henceforth of all perplexity or responsibility about one's own soul, must be naturally the most tempting of spiritual luxuries.

To the effeminate spirit, to the creature of sentiment, and the nature to which an æsthetic thrill or the comfort of mental repose is the thing of supreme account, such a faith will always be most enticing.

But where the earnest desire for truth and moral perfection exists, and a spirit of manly courage and self respect, and a hearty faith in God and His handiwork as always good and trustworthy abides, there such a faith must prove thoroughly unsatisfactory.

Newman's system, as we noticed, is at bottom, thoroughly sceptical and pessimistic. "It is indeed," he once said from the University pulpit (University Sermons, p. 186)—"a great question whether Atheism is not as philosophically consistent with the phenomena of the physical world, taken by themselves, as the doctrine of the creative and governing power." So, in defining that liberalism in religion which always excited

him as a red rag does a Spanish bull,— he exhibits himself as fundamentally an Agnostic. Liberalism in religion, he complains, is “the exercise of thought upon matters in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and is therefore out of place.”

But though his intellectual vision could thus see no foundation for religion, his heart and will were determined to have one, and, as the ostrich fancies it escapes its enemy by hiding its head in a bush, so Newman flies to the self-invented refuge of an unerring church and accepts the assurance of fellow mortals, equally fallible with himself (and probably much more so), as rendering non-existent that which still stands plainly before his intellectual retina.

And, as the first corner-stone of his system is a virtual doubt of God's existence, so his second is a distrust of God's goodness, and contempt and depreciation of His creation. He found the world a ruin, man in rebellion, and God alienated from man; and though the creation, when Jehovah first contemplated it, so pleased Him that He declared all its works very good, yet to-day (according to Newman) the divine handiwork has turned out so faulty, that God has to invent an infallible Overseer of the plantation and enthrone him at the Vatican, “to smite hard and hold back” the human reason, which God originally made in His own divine image and gave to man as his guide in life.

“There is no medium in true philosophy between Atheism and the Catholic Church, and a perfectly consistent mind will choose either the one or the other.” (“Apologia,” 198.)

This was the bogie by which he was frightened, little by little, to surrender entirely to the Pope, and by which he would drive, if he could, all the Protestant world to the same sheep-fold.

The argument will do for *sheep*, but not for *men*. It would make men act as foolishly as the woman, who, having been assured by a tricky lawyer that for a good round sum, as a retainer, he could secure her a wealthy inheritance in England, when she was warned that he had been telling her lies, refused to believe it, because then, “where's my fortune? I *must* have my fortune.”

Men who are men *face* facts, whatever they are, not *flee* from them. Had Newman confronted his doubts manfully, it would have turned out, I believe, as with the Arthur Hallam

whom Tennyson's "In Memoriam" immortalizes,— he would have laid his doubts and come through them to find a stronger faith his own.

Our own reason and conscience are our God-given guides, and the true servant of God must sail his bark patiently wherever the sealed orders given to his own soul command. Prematurely to tear out of the envelope the doubts and scruples which we find within, and cram in there instead, the catechism of our ancestors or the cravings of our own weak nerves, is none the less an act of disobedience and rebellion against God's clearest voice, because it is so often done, as it was by Newman, in the sacred name of faith.

Reason is not the foe of religion, but its friend and ally. It is only the counterfeits of religion, the credulities and superstition which are its parasites, that it destroys. Reason, of course, often errs, but it can always be trusted (with the help of the Divine Spirit) to correct in time its aberrations. Extreme scepticism always dies in time of its own negations. Our very errors are guideposts to truth.

The imperfections in the world are not marks of ruin, but of the still continuing process in which God is busy. In the light thrown by modern science and Assyriology on man's early days, that aboriginal calamity on which man's moral inability and the theologian's scheme of atonement is founded, is shown to be a baseless tradition. The whole story of Eden is a comparatively late importation into the Hebrew Testament from the wild legends of the pagan Babylonians.

A true philosophy recognizes evil and all those signs which are supposed to prove failure in God's creation and show it to be out of joint with the divine purposes, as simply the signs that our world is still in the making. God is leading us up higher every day; building his temple to loftier and purer heights. And these miseries, these perplexities, these sins are but the scaffolding by which it is uplifted; the hammer strokes by which it is shaped; the chips and débris, which temporarily litter the ground, all to be worked in and utilized and cleared up, when the grand work is completed.

The devotees of church authority would have us believe that this oracle alone supplies a stable foundation for faith; that the Bible and the individual reason, on which Protestants rest, are insufficient guides.

But on what does the authority of the church rest? On the primacy, so the Catholics tell us, given to Peter, the first Bishop of Rome, and handed down by him, to his successors, — the Catholic Church.

But in the first place, there is no evidence in the New Testament, or any reliable evidence anywhere else, that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome; there is no evidence in Gospel or Acts or Epistles that Peter was given by Jesus any authority over his fellow disciples or practically enjoyed such authority among them. The New Testament does not exhibit Peter as infallible; but on the contrary, as on various occasions, sternly rebuked by Christ and by his fellow disciples; as gravely erring and as deserving to be blamed, as Paul declared.

If far from infallible, himself, how could he transmit to his episcopal successors, that which he never possessed, himself. If we grant for the sake of argument, that the records show that Peter did receive the alleged infallible headship of the church from Christ, what else does this show except that the Catholic claims are indirectly founded on the same basis as Protestantism is directly founded on, viz.: — the truth of the Gospel history.

To say that we cannot depend on the Bible for religious truth, but must depend on the church, which the Bible record shows to have received infallibility from the personages of this same Bible, is the plainest of contradictions.

It is the same in regard to reason. Even the highest of High-Churchmen cannot get along without trusting in it. For the moment he decides to seek refuge with infallible authority and renounce reason, he is met by the question, "Among the numerous claimants to this position of infallible religious authority, which is the right one?" And unless he had some reason for preferring the one he chooses, he confesses himself a fool in his own eyes and that all other religions are as true as his. He can claim his to be the one true authority, only by offering some reason for it; by resting his infallible church on that very reason, which he pretends to reject.

The fact is that the attempt to get an infallible authority that will save us from the possibility of making mistakes, is like the mediæval search for a universal solvent, or liquid that will dissolve everything else. If anyone says he has found it, pray, in what sort of a vessel does he keep it?

So if Newman or anyone else tells us he has found an infallible authority that saves us from the necessity of using our fallible reason, pray, by what faculty did he recognize it and discriminate it from false authorities; and by what faculty does he comprehend the decisions and interpretations of that oracle? There is no other means than the employment of his own human, fallible intelligence.

And however lofty a superstructure be built up by the Churchman on this basis, it can have no more solidity than the original foundation. The only difference between the rationalist and the Romanist is that the rationalist seeks by daily practise and small ventures to reduce the risk of error to a minimum; the Romanist stakes his all on a single cast of the die, and then doses himself with the opiate of authority to save thinking about the result.

But enough of Newman's theology and ecclesiastical theories. Let us turn from them, to that which was the living religion by which Newman lived, as every child of God who recognizes his spiritual heritage must live.

It is only too easy to disclose flaws in the theology. But in the soul-faith that glowed within him, his ardent piety and gentleness of spirit, his eager yearning after, and reverence before, the realities of the spiritual world; the loyalty to conscience by which he was driven little by little out of his ancestral church, and all the ties of friendship, association, pride and peace that had bound him there so tightly, were snapped in twain, to go forth where truth called him,—in these things, we find a faith, common to every earnest spiritual nature and worthy of all praise and imitation.

It was this essential and vital spirituality of the man that touched so magnetically the souls of the young students about him at Oxford; that breathes with such sweetness and power through his sermons and poems; and it is this,—not his theological controversies,—that will be permanently treasured by the world; and in these pure aspirations, all Christians of every sect can join in holy communion, as members of the invisible church of those who thirst after the living waters and lift their eyes with him to the "kindly light" of the Sun of Righteousness, which alone should lead man onward.

THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL AND THE CENSORSHIP OF MORALS.

NO-NAME SERIES, NUMBER EIGHT.

But man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd—
His glassy essence—like an angry ape
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.—[SHAKESPEARE.

THE action of the Postmaster-General* in refusing to transmit Count Tolstoi's latest work through the mails, is one of the most significant steps taken in recent years looking toward the establishment of a despotic censorship of the press, which, if not resisted by the patriotism and the culture of the land, must necessarily result in a tyranny as odious to every broad and manly impulse as it is fatal to the proper growth and expansion of the human brain.

The splendid progress of our past, so largely the result of free thought and an untrammelled press, is too priceless a heritage to be exchanged for a censorship such as makes possible the triumph of injustice and barbaric cruelty, together with the suppression of education found to-day in the Russian empire.

Perhaps the gravest feature of the step is the precedent it

*The plea which some of the many embarrassed apologists of the Postmaster-General have put forth, that the order did not come from Mr. Wanamaker, has no point, from the fact that as head of the department it is his place to know of any step so grave as the suppression of one of the works of a foremost moralist and author of the age. Moreover, if the order had been issued without his knowledge or sanction, he could have promptly countermanded it on becoming acquainted with the unjust and eminently improper ruling.

The puerile claim advanced *after the daily press began to criticise the Postmaster-General so mercilessly*, that Mr. Wanamaker was ignorant of the action, and since reading the book, decided it was not immoral and was ready to listen to an appeal from the publishers, is well calculated to excite the smile of contempt. As Postmaster-General he is held by the people responsible for so serious an infringement of popular right.

If the Bible had thus been excluded by subordinates, would Mr. Wanamaker have remained inactive?

establishes and the logical results which will follow; for if a Postmaster-General can arbitrarily exclude a work like the "Kreutzer Sonata" from the mails, who is to stop a less pious official in the same position from excluding the Bible, a work containing confessedly many passages accounted obscene and immoral in the highest degree, — passages which parents who have a sensible regard for the welfare of their children, would never think of reading aloud to them at the fireside. We cite this illustration merely to show the evil of permitting an official to wield so dangerous a weapon.

Let us now at the very outset glance at the life and character of the distinguished author, as well as examine the nature of the tabooed work that we may more clearly and justly appreciate the gravity of the offence which has been committed. Count Tolstoi was in early life a man of the world in the fullest sense of the word. He afterward, while visiting among the wretched, the degraded, the oppressed of his country, and beholding for the first time in all its frightful significance what is meant by "the world's miseries," became profoundly impressed with the omnipresence of wretchedness throughout the Christian world. The appalling picture of humanity's woes, spectre-like, haunted his mind so incessantly that his former life of gayety no longer held for him a charm. He resolved to study the life and teachings of Jesus, in the hope of finding therein a ray of hope for humanity. He soon became as profound a believer in the teachings of the great Nazarene as he had before been a wild and dissolute man of the world. In accepting Christianity he did so in no half-hearted way. *Not for wealth, emolument, fame or glory, not for the praise of man, did he renounce his former life*, as is seen in the change which immediately came over him. His great wealth was freely given to the poor; he refused to live in luxury while a single fellow man toiled in rags; therefore he donned the simplest garb and devoted a portion of every day to manual labor. "I must earn by the sweat of my brow my food and raiment," he declared, and has, since his renunciation of the world, lived strictly up to his resolve. His food is the plainest, and he makes his own shoes and caps. Literature is his recreation. His home is frequented by the needy, and hungry wayfarers are hospitably received and ever find an abundance of plain food awaiting them. "Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good," is a

part of the Count's creed; indeed, he takes all Christ says literally. His conception and literal interpretation of Christ's words, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart," is used as a text for his sermon against marriage, and his advocacy of the strictest and most bitter asceticism, as found in the "Kreutzer Sonata," a book which, while repulsive in the extreme, is as far removed from "dangerous obscenity," as hypocrisy is removed from sincerity. It is an ugly picture of an ugly phase of the marriage question. Its serious fault lies in assuming that as a rule marriage is a brutal, sensual association of two persons, whereas such is unquestionably the exception. Nevertheless it is incontestably true that there are in every civilized land thousands upon thousands of such unions as that described by Posdnicheff. And as a picture of this social ulcer Count Tolstói's latest work is as graphic as a photograph; a loathsome, repulsive picture of vice and moral degradation, which, while it may at times create a sensation of horror and disgust, is no more liable to arouse licentious thoughts, than would the spectacle of a leper in the last stages of that most frightful disease. It is related of a famous sculptor that one day while contemplating a marvellously beautiful statue, a sober-faced gentleman gravely inquired if he did not regard the chiselled marble immoral. Turning his great eyes upon him, the genius replied, "No; but so much cannot be said for the mind that sees in it any immorality." Which reminds one of the utterance of a great apostle of the Gentiles, "Unto the pure all things are pure." When we come to examine the "Kreutzer Sonata," we find still less to excuse for the charge of "dangerous obscenity;" for there is nothing that is seductive, or in any degree attractive in the work in question. It is an ulcer that is receiving the heroic treatment of the knife. Not only was the book written with the highest moral purposes, but it presents moral depravity in a sickening manner. It is said there are persons whose imagination is so morbidly depraved that the very sight of a human body reeking in eating sores awakens in their minds evil thoughts. Certainly no one less depraved could be injured by reading "Kreutzer Sonata," and to me it is inconceivable how anyone can regard it as remotely objectionable as a possibly dangerous work, or one which would naturally stimulate licentious thoughts. We freely grant that it

is repulsive and revolting, but when was a man made worse by seeing a hideous and loathsome picture of vice with its certain and swift retribution following the evil doers, either in the form of death, or what is still more dreadful the insane remorse of the murderer. Sin, crime, and immorality should always be made repulsive. No greater enemy to society can be found than the man who would strike down those who are conscientiously seeking to tear aside the mask which is hiding the corrupting evils that are even now eating into the vitals of society, and threatening the true progress of the race by producing a set of moral dwarfs, who see in almost everything, from a piano leg up to an exquisite statue of Venus, something "*dangerously obscene*."

If the "*Kreutzer Sonata*" had been a licentious work, the arbitrary action of the Postmaster-General would have appeared less grave; but an overwhelming consensus of opinion is clearly against him, as seen by the comments of a vast majority of the greatest papers of the land; even journals such as the *Philadelphia Press*, the leading Republican organ of Pennsylvania, published in the home of Mr. Wanamaker, find it impossible to defend his action. In a recent editorial this paper shows how egregiously, we almost said criminally, the postal department had blundered in excluding this work from the mails. In speaking of the statute under which the Department acted the *Press* frankly declares that:—

"The exclusion is intended to apply, and ought to apply, solely to books whose degrading purpose is to excite the passions by dealing with obscene and forbidden subjects. Count Tolstoi's '*Kreutzer Sonata*' is not such a work. It is a study in morbid, moral anatomy. If this discrimination is not made between books which are intentionally and purposely obscene, and books which touch upon doubtful subjects in the course of a wider discussion of life—because literature itself is bound to deal with all of life—the Post-Office Department is launched upon a paternal and ridiculous scrutiny of letters. Swift, Balzac, and Shakespeare, and hundreds of lesser men, must be inspected, condemned, and excluded."

The statutes enacted to suppress really obscene matter might and doubtless would prove harmless in the hands of those rare spirits who occasionally bless the world, and who possess the splendid faculty of viewing problems from all points of view; of placing themselves in the position of

those who might be injured. From those chosen ones who are at once broadminded, farseeing, and tolerant, no abuse need be feared from the censorship power. But in this age when lilliputian politicians are presumptuously essaying the impossible task of filling the seats of statesmen, this arbitrary power will be wielded by hands that discriminate along the lines of prejudice, to the immense injury to the State and to the individual. Offices of great dignity and power being at the present time used as a reward for partisan services, it is not strange that they are frequently filled by well meaning, but narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant individuals, who are so unfortunately constituted that they are as mentally and morally incapacitated for viewing questions from the standpoint of broad statesmanship as a South African Bushman is to appreciate the work of a Raphael, or understand the moral sublimity of the Sermon on the Mount.

The case assumes a still more serious aspect when it is remembered that this power once securely established by precedents may be employed by thoroughly unscrupulous politicians in unjust discriminations against party opponents. That such power would surely be thus abused no candid observer, who has critically followed recent political events, can for a moment doubt. Conscience is an almost unknown quality in political intrigue. Indeed, during the last session of Congress a gentleman from Iowa introduced a smoothly drawn bill * which carried with it an arbitrary censorship of

* The Sweeney bill alluded to above is a logical outcome of the idea that the State should treat its citizens as babes; that it should establish a censorship of morals such as exists in Russia and other lands where a free press is unknown. The following extracts from editorials in leading papers indicate that the American press is at last becoming alarmed at the encroachments of governmental paternalism:—

"The Constitution of the United States guarantees a free press, but there are numerous statesmen now engaged in the work of tinkering the laws, who cannot rest without interfering in all the ways they can think of with the freedom of printing and circulating the news.

"One of the latest schemes of this kind is the bill introduced in Congress by Mr. Sweeney, of Iowa. It provides for the exclusion from the mails of 'any pamphlet, magazine, newspaper, story-paper, or other paper devoted to the publication or principally made up of criminal news, police reports, or accounts of criminal deeds, or pictures and stories of immoral deeds, lusts, or crime.'

"Such a law would inevitably be strained and perverted so as to put it within the power of the post-office officials, or of a single one of them, to interfere outrageously with the liberty of the press. At a time of political excitement some serviceable party henchman might stop the circulation of any of the great journals of the country by finding something in it which he might construe as a breach of this law."—*Boston Daily Globe*.

"If any newspaper offends against public morality, let it be dealt with by the regular criminal authorities and the courts of the country. To convert

the American press, which if enacted as pointed out by leading journals, could be used to crush and destroy any paper which the administration and the censors desired to suppress.

The "Postal system," as has been pointed out by the editor of one of the greatest Metropolitan dailies,* was established to carry and distribute mails, and not to act as a censor of literature. The same writer referring to the postal officials sensibly observes:—

"It is dangerous in the extreme to authorize them to decide, even under the most carefully drawn statute, what printed matter is and what is not to be considered proper. They are not expert critics in the first place, and in the second such authority is susceptible of the most flagrant and oppressive abuse.

"Under such authority any Postmaster-General or his deputies could exclude from the mails, embarrass and ruin any newspaper which should venture to criticise the Administration; for every newspaper, in publishing the news, of necessity records or makes reference to matters, its references to which could be so distorted by a hostile critic as to bring them within the letter of the most guardedly drawn prohibitory statute.

"The entire censorship idea should be eliminated from the system."

The steps from postal censorship to a censorship of the

the post-office into an extraordinary tribunal for such a purpose, and to make every little postmaster a judge to suppress the liberty of printing which the Constitution guarantees, is an intolerable proposition:

"We have too much paternal government already, and Mr. Anthony Comstock is already too much of a Grand Inquisitor. No law to enlarge or intensify his power is admissible. Hands off!"—*New York Sun*.

"Congress has the right, under the Constitution, to establish post-offices and post-roads; but it is prohibited from making any law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press. The proposition before Congress to establish a post-office censorship to determine what newspapers shall be carried in the mails, and what newspapers shall be thrust out, according to the judgment of postmasters as to the quality of the printed news contained therein, is an adventure into forbidden ground. An attempt upon the part of the press of the country to suppress the Congress would be a much more feasible and lawful undertaking than an attempt in Congress to meddle with newspapers or to authorize postmasters to meddle."—*Philadelphia Record*.

"The enemy of a free press is again abroad and with astounding assurance has invaded the halls of legislation under the disguise of 'higher morality,' a mask to cover a well-developed scheme of press censorship and wholesale blackmail. The free citizens of the Republic are to be Russianized in literature—the hard-working but independent dealer in literary ware to be made a contention block between human sharks clothed with court power who will merrily feast on blackmail in the guise of a purer morality.

"'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' is a truism which will live as long as the English language shall be spoken. As used in the infancy of our country by Thomas Jefferson, it meant much, but not a whit more than it does to-day, when men who cannot comprehend the essence and spirit of a free country and press are abroad."—*The Newsman*. [New York.]

*The New York World.

press; from the field of morals to that of religion are of easy gradation, and it is not overstating the case to say that many of those who are now so vigorously defending the right of arbitrary power on the part of the Postmaster-General look forward confidently to the return of the "good old days" when morals and religion were under state censorship, when free thought was a crime and the minority had no rights that bigotry and intolerance were bound to respect. Events which have recently taken place give special emphasis to these facts, significant among which was the action of Mr. Comstock, who, after he heard of the ruling of the postal department and before he had read the work, rushed into court to secure the conviction of four persons who were selling the "Kreutzer Sonata."* The prisoners were arraigned before Judge White. Mr. Comstock had a marked copy of Tolstoï's work which he handed to the Judge, who, after carefully perusing the passages in question, replied, "I can see nothing in these passages to affect the morals of anyone, either young or old." Then turning to Comstock and the officer who had arrested the bookdealers, the Judge asked if they had read the book. Both admitted that they had not.

The prisoners were dismissed and the two hundred and forty copies which had been seized were restored. But can anything be conceived more outrageous than the arrest of those four men, their being dragged into court, humiliated, disgraced, made prisoners and their property seized by men who confessed that they had never read the work? What protection have innocent and law-abiding citizens in a country that permits such lawless conduct? What redress have they against such outrages?

Now in order to better illustrate the part which religious prejudice plays in such high-handed proceedings as that just noted and to better emphasize the inherent injustice and despotic discrimination that is being made by those who masquerade before the public in the role of the holiest of the holy, let us suppose an altogether reasonable event occurred

* Mr. Pentecost, in editorially commenting in the *Twentieth Century* on the present aggressive action of the censors, makes the following timely observations: "I am surprised that the great dailies do not make a mighty protest. They should consider that a step or two more will bring them under the iron hand of Comstock & Wanamaker. First the Vice Society took to suppressing really obscene books. Then it made bold to imprison reformers who for purposes of purity published heretical literature. Now it attacks the great works of great geniuses. Where will it stop?"

at this time. We will further suppose that prior to this a band of individuals had associated themselves together for the purpose of suppressing all really obscene works, without reference to prejudice or superstition ; men who had determined to secure equal, all round justice without religious or fanatical discrimination.

Now we will assume that this new anti-vice society had been even more vigilant in its endeavor to protect the dear defenseless public than Mr. Comstock and had caused to be arrested a number of well dressed individuals, as well as had seized some thousands of volumes. These newly made prisoners in the custody of uniformed officials and followed by a motley crowd of street urchins, encounter Mr. Comstock as he is journeying home from the scene of his recent defeat. To the horror of the one-time autocrat of the morals of New York he sees a number of intimate friends and some of his own agents and counsellors among the prisoners. After pausing a moment in an undecided state of mind he follows the vanishing procession to a neighboring hall of justice, resolved to ascertain the cause of this procedure, novel to him only because the shoe is now on the other foot. "We have arrested these men, your Honor," explains the officer, addressing the Judge, "for selling this book to girls and boys and urging them to read it. You will judge whether or not it is obscene by examining the marked passages." The Judge takes the work. We notice him turn to Genesis xix. 30-36, then to Genesis xxxviii. 7-26. Then passing over numerous marked passages we notice him pause at 2 Samuel xi. 2-17. Next he reads 2 Samuel xiii. 2-18. Finding, however, that it would consume far too much time to even glance at the marked passages, he knits his brow a moment and then meditatively murmurs, "If this work had been the product of a citizen of this country to-day, it would not only be suppressed, unless it were carefully expurgated, but the author would unquestionably be incarcerated by the State. If it were a translation of a sacred book of India, China, or Egypt, the whole Christian world would cry out against the publication of some of the passages I find here marked, but as it is the Bible it must not be touched." "But, your Honor," the agent of the new anti-vice society protests, "is not much of that which you have read, in the universal acceptance of civilization, considered obscene?" "They

are a part of God's holy Word," Mr. Comstock nervously interposes. The Judge nods assent. Then turning to the agent of the new society, he asks how long it took to mark the book. "Oh!" replies that gentleman, "I am a busy man and could not have found time to indicate a tithe of the questionable passages you will find underscored. That book was one of a number of marked Bibles some teachers who are friends of mine, took from the desks of boys and girls in their schools. It was marked as you find it by some child."*

This imaginary case illustrates the manifest hypocrisy of this solicitude on the part of the censors who compass land and sea to suppress the works of liberal thinkers, or persons who do not think along conventional lines. The Bible is not only tolerated but forced into the hands of children, and if any clergyman demands its expurgation, he is denounced in unmeasured terms through the religious press and from the pulpit. Yet if one who does not think along the lines of orthodox thought unmasks evils or exposes the rottenness of society; if he draws aside the covering and reveals some of the loathsome cancerous sores that are to-day eating into the vitals of the social body, he is fortunate indeed, if he escapes with the suppression of his work, as he is certainly in danger of incarceration for a term of years unless he is shrewd enough to sprinkle considerable Calvinism and some cheap piety through his work.

In calling attention to the action of Mr. Comstock in appearing in court for the suppression of the "Kreutzer Sonata," I desired to illustrate *how closely censorship of the press treads on the heels of postal supervision.*† A still more

* More than one teacher has informed me that they have frequently found in the desks of their pupils, both girls and boys, copies of the Bible with the most lewd and obscene passages marked from cover to cover; a sad commentary, truly, on the wisdom of placing the unabridged Bible in the hands of the young.

† The censorship of morals so far as it relates to persons who seek the position from natural inclination, or still worse who are self-appointed, is pernicious, inasmuch as it places unwarranted power in the hands of men who are, in all probability, as incompetent to pass opinions that are broad, just, equitable, or in conformity with the highest interests of the people as a coolie to appreciate a Darwin. Those who from choice are ever rooting in the moral sewers are not the characters that should be clothed with any censorial powers, for if we grant they are in a certain sense good or well-meaning men, the chances are that they will not be large-souled, broad-minded, or catholic-spirited individuals. They moreover will rarely be great enough to neglect an opportunity to persecute and harass to the fullest extent possible any publisher who might incur their displeasure, and in this manner free speech is seriously menaced. It is well to remember in connection with the question of irresponsible censorship such as holds

significant illustration is found in the recent action of a certain Joseph Britton, at one time a subordinate of Mr. Comstock, but who for some reason fell out with his former employer and has since established an anti-vice society of his own.

Whether the anti-vice society business is lucrative or whether it is for glory alone we have no means of knowing. Certain it is Mr. Britton desired to parade as a censor of public morals and deeming the hour a peculiarly auspicious moment to fall in line with the Postmaster-General, he seized something over twelve hundred books, which he in his self-constituted office of censor of the morals of society deemed immoral. Among these books were copies of "Kreutzer Sonata" and one of Balzac's novels, which were promptly conveyed to the Tombs, while Mr. Farrelly, the President of the American News Company, and two clerks were arrested. In commenting upon this alarming assumption of power by self-appointed censors, the New York *Herald* utters the following warning note:—

"We have had too much of this meddling business—rum-maging the mails for the books of a conscientious writer like Tolstoi, suppressing the poems of one of the gentlest and noblest of writers, Whitman, and now taking a gentleman to the Tombs for having on his shelves a copy of Balzac. *American readers are not children, idiots, or slaves.* They can govern their reading without the advice of Mr. Comstock, Mr. Wanamaker, or this new supervisor of morals named Britton—a kind of spawn from Comstock, we are informed, and who begins his campaign for notoriety by an outrage upon Mr. Farrelly."

It is well to remember that the censorship idea is of recent growth in this republic, especially as it applies to national laws. It is essentially a foreign plant whose noxious influence has retarded the growth of science in almost every field of inquiry, has fettered the brains of the people, making them for centuries suppliants at the feet of depraved monarchs who claimed to rule by rights divine; or at the still more merciless shrine of religious intolerance. Kings and priests alike have ever claimed to exercise this power for the good of the people. The side of the tapestry

good at present that such a field and such a power will inevitably in a short time attract persons who will see in it immense opportunities to levy blackmail on publishers.

that has been thrown before the world has been fair to look upon, but under its cover the lamp of free thought has been extinguished; the wisest of the ages have been silenced or slaughtered; science made an outcast, and the people for centuries compelled to beg for what they should have demanded as rights. It is true our Puritan fathers brought from monarchial Europe the censorship idea; the blue laws attest it; the religious persecutions which form the darkest page in New England history are melancholy reminders of this grave error which died in our midst while liberty was yet young.

If, however, at the present time a censorship in morals can be re-rooted in our land, with the present unmistakable drift toward centralization,* with the rapid multiplication of offices and of laws, it will not only destroy to a great extent popular rights and perfectly legitimate liberty by placing unwarranted power in the hands of bigoted, intolerant, and fanatical individuals as has already been illustrated, but it will be the stepping-stone to a censorship in religion. The one logically follows the other, for if it is once admitted that the government should arbitrarily determine just what the individual may and what he may not read; that the free and intelligent citizens must be treated by the State as though they were idiots, not possessing sufficient judgment to select their own literature; once establish by a series of arbitrary precedents that it is the duty of the State to take charge and direct the

* A recent illustration of this tendency toward centralization and the placing of arbitrary power in the hands of the Postmaster-General was witnessed in the passage of the recent Anti-Lottery bill. That the Louisiana lottery is an unmitigated evil few will deny. It is perhaps almost as great a curse as Wall Street, where an army of gamblers live by fleecing their victims and where yearly great fortunes rise on the wreck and ruin of the homes and lives of hundreds who through false reports and "rumors" have been deceived. But, great as is the evil of the lottery, it is a serious question whether the arbitrary power lodged by this bill in the hands of the Postmaster-General may not some day prove a far greater evil than emanates from the lottery. This new danger was trenchantly explained by Congressman Hayes of Iowa in the minority report on the bill, from which we make the following quotation: "The provisions of the bill are bad and even absolutely dangerous, in that its tendency is towards centralization and interference with the proper functions and powers of the States. It abridges freedom of the press; it gives a power of espionage to public officials as against the citizens; it provides for condemnation without a hearing and makes the whim, caprice, or opinion of the Postmaster-General—good, bad, or indifferent as it may be—the final judgment upon which the rights of citizens may depend,—makes him in fact, judge, jury, and executioner without a pretence of hearing or necessity for legal evidence, and actually extends this dangerous and vicious power with all its machinery for enforcement, to any other 'scheme or device' that 'upon evidence satisfactory to him' may not suit his exalted ideas of propriety."

morals of the individual, and it will be no difficult task by the same reasoning to convince the majority that it is equally the duty of the State to look after the religious life of her citizens, first, by the establishment of a mild censorship together with the enactment of Sabbath laws and the suppression of the Sunday newspaper, after which the ascendancy of religious censorship would step by step move toward those heights of arrogance where the rights of the minority would be forever lost. A point, which when remembered in connection with the fact that the minority have always been the world's pioneers and torch bearers, assumes a gravity that forbids a flippant dismissal.

There is another thought to be remembered in the discussion of this problem, and that is the diversity of sentiments in regard to what is pernicious, injurious or immoral.

For instance, if the censors were Roman Catholics, they would most assuredly adjudge the Rev. Justin D. Fulton's "Why Priests Should Wed" and other popular Protestant works dealing with the church of Rome and the alleged immoralities practised by priests as highly pernicious and obscene. On this point the great mass of the Catholic church would cry Amen; for they conscientiously believe that such suppression is all important. On the other hand, place the Rev. Justin D. Fulton or the Rev. Dr. McArthur in the censorship with arbitrary power, and Roman works would fare as badly; for these gentlemen have become so imbued with the belief that the Catholic church is rotten to the core; that a large per cent. of her priesthood are depraved libertines, that they would doubtless find in Catholic works what to them would appear immoral or pernicious in the extreme, while to others, not viewing Rome through their glasses, the same passages would seem innocent. Yet they would be as conscientious as Saul who thought he did God's service when he slaughtered the early Christians. Prejudice so often blinds the eye of reason that we must not allow ourselves to view a great problem like the one under discussion, in a narrow, superficial, or partisan manner; thus these illustrations may aid us in understanding how difficult a thing it is to attempt a censorship of morals without being unjust. There is nothing more relentless, more intolerant or destructive of every right of the minority than religious fanaticism enthroned in power. Yet I think no

student of history, nor any one who has, during the past generation, watched the catlike approach of paternalism in our country, will deny that this result will sooner or later inevitably follow, unless the general agitation of this question at the present time produces a healthy reaction.

It is clearly the duty of all citizens who realize the danger lurking behind pernicious and arbitrary precedents and the great injustice which sooner or later will result from the establishment of a censorship of morals and religion, to offer the most strenuous opposition to every step taken and to agitate the question. "Agitation," as Wendell Phillips once declared, "prevents rebellion, keeps the peace, secures progress, while every step gained is gained forever." The possibilities of this great republic are too grand for it to be quietly resigned to the despotism of pseudo-moralists, bigoted theologians, or political demagogues.

For true religion I cherish the profoundest reverence. For every moral impulse and spiritual aspiration that enter the soul of man I am truly grateful; while every effort that promises to elevate humanity or further the cause of true morality challenges my earnest approval. But at the same time that mock modesty which sees immorality where a pure mind beholds only beauty and grace; which would shroud the exquisite statues in tawdry drapery, thereby suggesting to every beholder the indecent thoughts that must have entered the minds of those who thus debase art, inspires in me an indignant contempt. While for that pseudo-morality which would exclude from the mails a work prompted by the highest sentiments of morality, not because its motive is impure, but because it mentions impurity and immorality as it is found in life to-day, I feel sentiments of disgust, coupled with humiliation, as I remember that in this land to-day men of such narrow vision are honored with positions of dignity and power.

The time has come when it should be clearly understood that *those who raise the cry* against every book written with a view to elevate morals by a merciless unmasking of the great wrongs, the corruption and immoralities which are festering under the surface of society, *are the real enemies of true morality*, as well as freedom, progress, and equal justice.

AN ENDOWED PRESS.

BY W. H. H. MURRAY.

It was sure to come—this discussion of American journalism. Now that it has come let it be thorough. Let the subject in its entirety be laid bare to the eyes of the people and our legislators, and especially to our journalists themselves, that the seat of the disease, its nature and virulence, may be clearly discerned and an efficient remedy applied.

What we need is a journalism that is accurate in statement, reliable in its news, discriminating in its editing, free from vulgar personalism and slanderous attack, and held strictly within the lines of what honorable and right thinking journalists the world over recognize as journalism.

The question is often asked, "What is the news?" and the tone in which it is asked is very like what we may fancy Pilate's was when he exclaimed, "What is truth?" But there is no likeness between the two interrogations, viewed in the light either of the motive which prompts or the comparative difficulty in the answer required. It is often hard to say what is truth,—and many have grown gray in vain seeking to know, and died seeking not having found. But it is not difficult to know what news is, nor hard to answer the interrogation as to it. Whatever has not been heard by one is news to him hearing; and as to this there is no doubt, nor can there be any. Whether the thing done is fit or unfit to be told; whether it is a thing at the telling of which decency shrinks and modesty is insulted, or is proper, instructive, and entertaining to hear, it is news to him who hears it for the first time.

If it is the duty of a newspaper using its vast and far reaching machinery for compilation and publishing, to gather up all that has happened within the circle of its almost world-wide inspection, good and bad, instructive and non-instructive, decent and indecent, pure or vile, and spread the strange medley, the dreadful *melange*, out on broad sheets for the public

to read, then journalism is only a species of gossiping run mad, of ill-bred rehearsing in public and private circles, before men, women, and children, of what its all-devouring eyes, lensed like a carrion-seeking bird for all distances, beholds in this God's and devil's world of ours. To call such an employment a profession is to travesty human language and insult the noble practice of men to distinguish and ennoble by honorable classification, the worthy endeavors of mankind.

If to engage in such a dreadful business is the duty of journalism, then what self-respecting man might ever be a journalist? If the evil happenings of the world, the murders, the rapes, the adulteries, the seductions, the wretched exhibitions of its wretchedness, the portraying of its vile ones and their vileness, the vivid photographing of its festering corruptions and immoralities, if these are to be raked up and scraped together from the four corners of the earth and spread out in type in broadsides of concentrated and accentuated foulness under the name of news, then were it better that type had never been invented, and the world were relegated to that state and condition it occupied when knowledge, however limited, was comparatively innocent, and virtue and decency had, at least, the happy and sure protection of ignorance.

It is in vain to say that the people like what they get and demand that the worst deeds of the worst men should be daily spread out in type before their eyes. This is a slander against the people. The people do not want this stuff. You can hear murmurs against it on all sides. The majority of the American people, rich or poor, high or low, are right minded. They talk, they act, they dress modestly. They will not tolerate impurities of thought and suggestion in their authors, or of speech in their companionships. Even in convivial moments and gatherings the unclean anecdote or pun is received in silence, or with protests so patent that the raconteur is abashed. There is a minority of another sort; but it is a minority. Is it good journalism to publish a newspaper for the minority of its readers and for a minority of the lower sort?

Another count against our "progressive journalism" is that it is *untrustworthy*, and this is supreme condemnation. It is bad enough to be told of badness, but what can we say of a practice of telling of evil which never existed! Is that

news? It is bad enough to have a scandal spread out before us; but worse yet to discover that the scandal was created for our entertainment! We are all politicians in this country, and hence we all want to know just what the opposition say and do. But what partisan paper will tell its readers the actual truth in its "Washington Reports"? Verily does it not make one feel mad to be treated thus, as if he were a child or a fool? Is it good journalism not only to tell what never happened, but also to conceal what did happen in important affairs and interesting connections? Is it good journalism to convert half a reportorial corps into detectives and spies of the baser sort; to teach them the habits of the mole without being able to endow them with the mole's protection against dirt? To reward them with extra pay who can wax their ears closest to a keyhole or climb most noiselessly to a full view of a woman's chamber through the transom above the door? To decide on the guilt or innocence of a man before he has been tried by a jury, nay, before he has ever been arrested by the duly appointed officers of the law? To thrust themselves into the presence of a public man and there put two columns of words into his mouth not one of which his tongue ever knew? If this is good journalism in the opinion of American journalists, then all that we, the people, ask is that it shall be avowed, that the baseness of it may at least be slightly palliated by the courage of its avowal, and we who have the power to make the laws may know just what we have to do.

Is there any reason why the English law of libel should not be enacted and put in force among us? If there is, it has never been published. That law adopted in this country would give ample protection to property and character, here, as it does there. Make it possible for every man to hold by due and strict process of law, every editor and publisher responsible for the truth of what they write and issue concerning him, and the foul tide of exaggeration, misrepresentation, innuendo and slander, that is now poured forth from the revolving presses of the country, would be clarified in a week. The liberty of the Press is and should be held sacred in every free community, but the license of the Press should be put under ban, and without a day's delay.

The evil is not one connected with the individualism of the Press, but is in the *system*. In the majority of cases, the

editor is an employee. He writes what he is told to write, and has to do so or surrender his place and salary. Personally, the editors of our great papers are not only talented but honorable men. The reporters are bright and manly. But they act under orders. The age of blows is past, and the age of words has come. As the free Lances of mediæval times sold their swords, so these now sell their pens. The terms of their engagement forbid them to have a conscience or individual opinions. They write what and as they are commanded by the man or management that has hired them, and dare not do otherwise. And the power which commands them is *money*!

Money has no conscience, no honor, no patriotism, no sympathy with truth, right, and decency, and never has had. It loves and seeks but one thing, — profits. Whatever will make the paper sell, goes into it, right or wrong, true or untrue, slanderous or just, clean or unclean, it is all the same to money. Whatever will make the greatest sensation; whatever will fetch the most dirty pennies from dirtier pockets; whatever will make the most sensational publication and call for a more sensational counter statement in the next issue, goes in. And this is called good journalism among us!

The power of the press is often made the subject of eulogy. That is one side of the theme. There is another. It is also an object of dread. By it a lie can be nationalized in a day; a vile slander made continental; an honorable reputation — that noblest reward of right living, — blasted forever; and a mean suspicion against the noblest of men popularized to a hemisphere. If a public man dare defend himself, his very defence is turned against him. If, maddened at the outrage, he shows his anger, he is jeered at, and misrepresented the more. If the attack drives him from public life, he finds no protection in privacy. The arrows of innuendo, of sneers, and insult, still rain upon him, and only the interposition of the grave into which he sinks at last, can protect his anguished bosom from their poisonous points. And this is good journalism!

Ask any public man if this picture is overdrawn. Ask Hayes, ask Colfax, ask Blaine, ask Cleveland, ask Conklin in his grave, ask Lincoln and Grant, ask living and dead alike, if this is an overdrawn picture of American journalism, and

the reckless slanderous manner in which its power has been used over them, and on them, and as they make answer, am I ready to stand condemned or acquitted of slander myself. Let the law which now binds the hands of the injured and the insulted, either check this outrageous exercise of irresponsible power, the outgrowth of a false system of journalism, or else let it restore Nature's liberty to us to protect ourselves. If it would but do this, I think so well of my countrymen that I will warrant that the license of American journalism would speedily be corralled within the pickets of a reasonable liberty.

The project of endowed journals is the natural suggestion — one among many — which occurs to the vast number of thinking men who are tired of and disgusted at the characteristics and tendencies of a large portion of the American Press. The almost utter absence of accuracy and fairness in the reports of Congressional doings and sayings; the mean and slanderous attacks on our public men, which stop not short of suspicioning their own and the virtues of their wives; the utter lack of discrimination in editing the newspaper of the day, which prints the drivel of a drunken prize fighter, at greater length and with larger display of head-lines than a speech of Mr. Gladstone, an encyclical from the Pope, or a message of the President; the absence of all moral conviction from the editorial page, that noblest opportunity for sincere and wise expression the world has ever provided for earnest men; the growing habit of converting reporters and correspondents into a gang of paid detectives and amateur spies, against the entrance of whom the jury room itself is not protected,— these and other deplorable conditions and tendencies patent to all, in American journalism, have produced a conviction far deeper and more prevalent than many think — that a radical change in the methods of journalism must be effected, and that, too, speedily.

When the suggestion looking towards the endowment of journals among us was recently made, many of the newspapers, we noticed, received it with a show of hilarity, as if it stirred the risibilities of their respective owners; but there was a hollow sound in their merriment, as when one in order to put on a brave appearance opens his mouth in vain effort to laugh, because there is a far different feeling from jollity in his soul. And the arguments feebly put

forth to prove the fallacy of the suggestion, were of a sort to stir the pity of one who reflected on the feebleness of the wit which would advance them, and the weakness of a cause which could urge no better in its defence.

The fact is, there is not an argument that can be urged against the endowment of journals, which cannot, even with greater force, be brought against the endowment of colleges. Both are national necessities. Both are sources of popular education. Both are mediums through which the learning, the patriotism, and the moral conviction of the best minds of the nation, can be communicated to the people who support them. Both are immense educational agencies, with the advantage in favor of the daily journal as contrasted with the college. The college reaches the few; the journal the many. The college is of the past, the remote, the indirect. It teaches languages that are dead, and tongues that are foreign; sciences that are for the few, and knowledge that is occult; while the daily journal speaks to the many in the vernacular; teaches from the text-book of current events, and gives to its reader the knowledge that is actual, and supplies him with present instruction, entertainment, guidance, and inspiration. Over against Cambridge, we can place Franklin, the printer; beside Yale, stand Garrison, with his *Emancipator*, and at the right hand of Agassiz, put Greeley, and no one who knew the forces which have developed our civilization could say that the three who type the influence of the college, outweighed the three who type the influences of the Press.

But how could political parties be served under this system of endowment, may be asked? Even as the different religious denominations are served now, and well served, by the same system, we reply. As Methodist wealth endows a Methodist school or college, and Baptist wealth its favorite institution, so Democratic or Republican wealth could endow the organ it loved and whose political opinions agreed with its own. And thus whoever will examine this subject thoughtfully will quickly realize that the plan suggested is not one either to awaken hilarity, or be treated as if it were inherently impracticable. On the other hand he will find that it is both practicable and practical.

The advantages to be derived from such endowed journals, are many and vast. Among others are these. It would lift journalism to the level of a learned and noble profession.

To be the editor of a great journal would be an honor equal to be the President of a great college. It would give to the people a thorough editing of the news of the day, which would ensure proper discrimination as to values, and accuracy of statement. It would lift the editorial pages to the level of high culture, deliberate expression, and convincing statement. It would give to its correspondence the finish and elegance of cultivated and gifted pens. It would shut the gates against the intruding floods of coarse sensationalism. It would deliver the pages from ungentlemanly personalities. It would secure us, as a nation, the respect and applause of foreign peoples, and it would bring to the discussion of every public question, the best thoughts of our best men. Shall we have endowed journals? If not, why not?

THE RACE PROBLEM.

BY PROF. W. S. SCARBOROUGH, A. M.

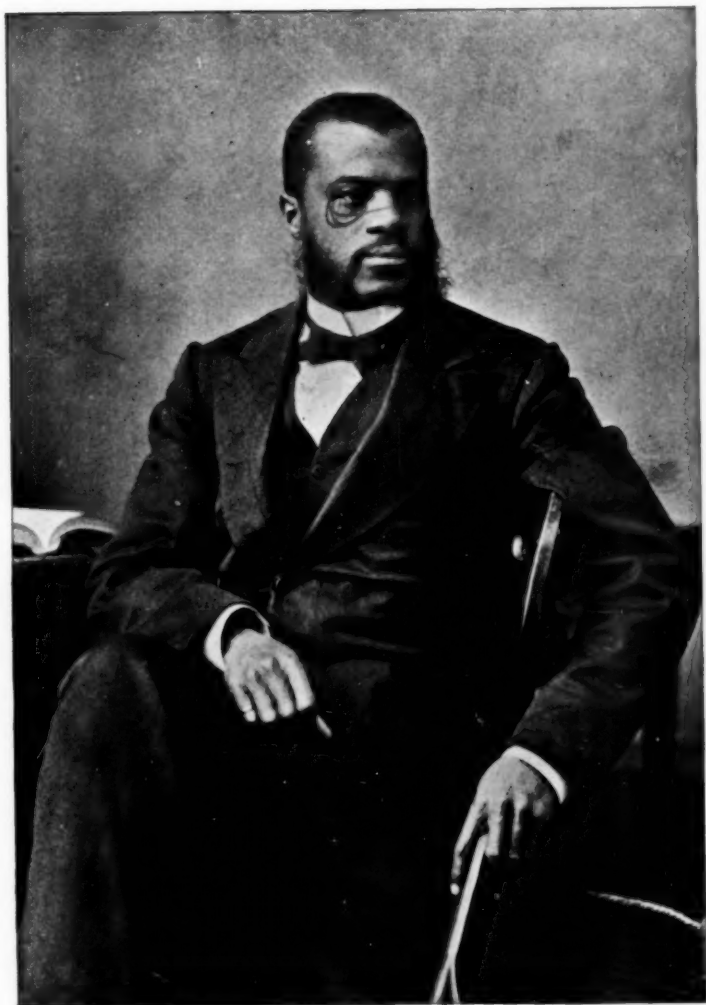
THIS question, improperly styled the "Negro problem," is in reality the white man's question. From the negro's standpoint the conditions that usually enter into a problem are absent and therefore the wonder is why all this discussion in regard to the blacks, why this confusion, these sectional differences, this bitter strife concerning the negro's rights, — his citizenship?

The blacks are quietly disposed and inclined to accept any amicable terms of peace that may be proposed by either North or South in the interest of the common good. They are not aggressive, nor vindictive, nor are they hostile to national prosperity. Negro supremacy or negro domination is a thought entirely foreign to their plans, and those who would insinuate that the demand for fair play is a cry for this or social equality surely do not understand the negro or his desires in the matter. His demand for fair play is not unreasonable, and why should the whole country be so stirred up over the subject?

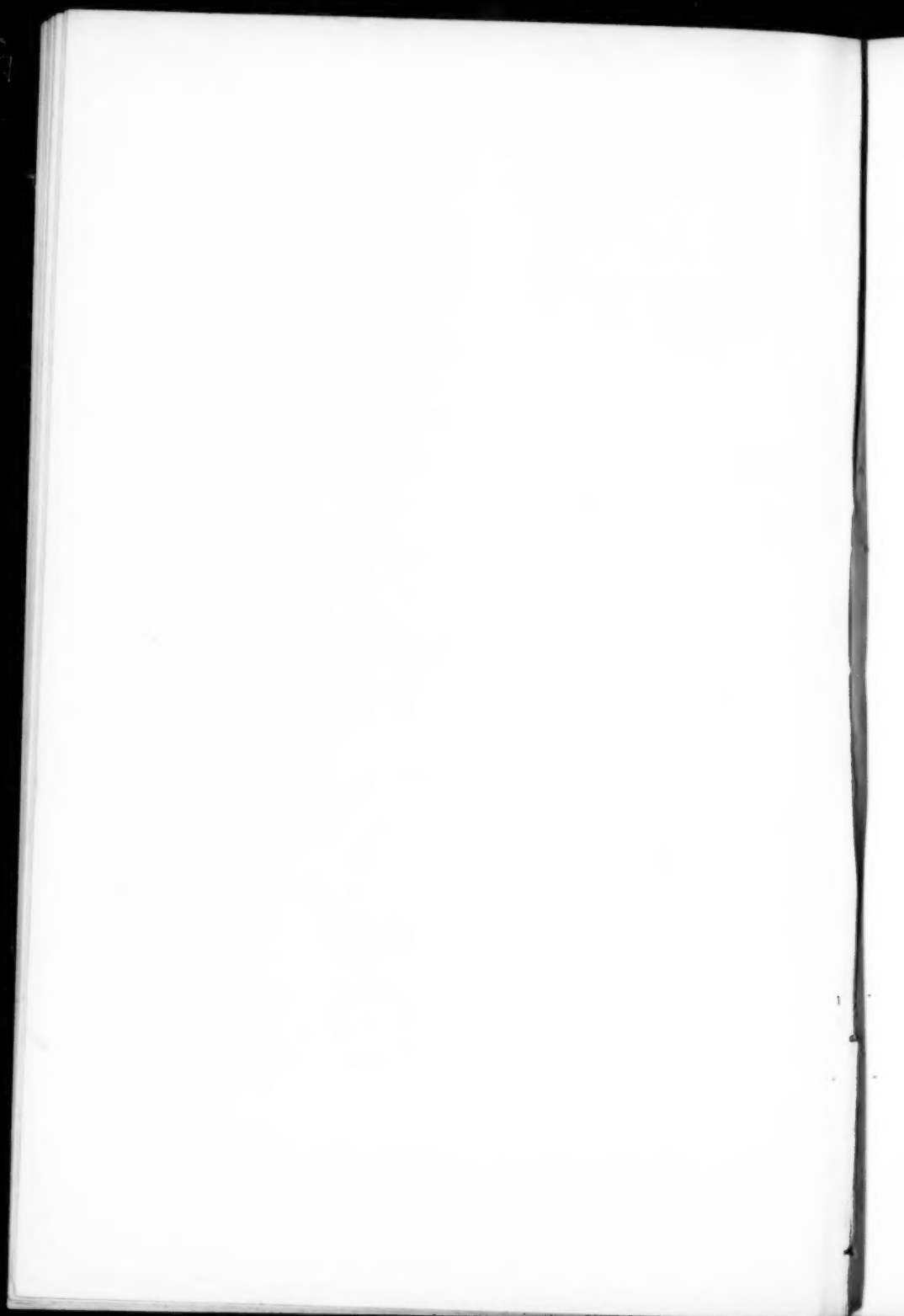
But when we stop to think about it, it occurs to us as not being so very strange, for intolerance is largely a characteristic of the American people, — especially intolerance of race.

So many have flocked to these shores, driven by persecution, that intolerance has become implanted in the minds of all as the sign of superiority. In no other way can we account for this among people of high civilization; for the rule is, the higher the civilization the more tolerant of races, creeds, and all else that may be attacked by the least civilized.

Take the Jews for example — a quiet, inoffensive people, many of whom are the monied kings of the world. Note the discrimination against them. Are they not ostracized? Is not the spirit of intolerance so strong against them in many parts of the world that it is impossible for them to remain and have any interest in the soil or learned profes-



Yours most sincerely,
W. H. Burroughs.



sion, or even remove elsewhere? What can be worse than this? It is certainly not on the ground of color that there is such clashing. *It is race.* The Chinese constitute another familiar example of race prejudice which has led to prohibitory legislation. In all these we have a variety of race distinctions, attributable, as it is claimed, to some one or more objectionable racial characteristics said to be possessed by those who do not belong to the more favored race, — “the fair-haired Saxon,” or rather the American Caucasian who is largely a mixture of nationalities and races. What a commentary upon our boasted American civilization when in the face of all this we read what economists affirm: the more civilized the country, the more tolerant it becomes.

Senators Hampton, Butler, Eustis, Morgan, Colquit, and other southern statesmen, have declared it to be their opinion that the two races can never live here together in peace, and further that there will never be an amicable adjustment of affairs as long as the negro essays to exercise the rights of citizenship. He must be satisfied with the place assigned him, however humble, however menial, despite any ambition to rise above the sphere laid out for him. Is this tolerance? If so, then such condition alone can never solve the race problem to the satisfaction of either party. Twenty-five years of school privileges have changed the negro, virtually making a new creature of him; and it is just as impossible to remand the mass of growing intelligence to former ways of thought and action, as to change his color. From the standpoint involving such a condition, the deportation of the entire race of color is the only alternative by which we may hope for solution of this most vexed question, and it might be as well for the race to rise *en masse* and petition Congress to pass the Butler bill to enable them to go to their fatherland (?) where they are supposed to live in peace and amicable relations with all men.

I have never looked with much favor upon emigration, whether forced or voluntary. I have believed that colonization of any kind meant death to the negro, and therefore would prove to be more serious in the end than all the abuse and insults that may be heaped upon him here; but I do favor removal from the South to the West. A scattering of the population over these United States would, in my opinion, do him untold good within the next twenty-five years.

Then if it is found to be impossible to live there, I would favor migration as a whole to Africa, or any point beyond the American influence and government. American prejudice is now almost greater than the negro can bear,—North as well as South. There is very little difference as to quantity.

Judge Fenner, in a recent paper, makes the following pungent remarks:—

"We have had innumerable suggestions as to what the people of the North should do, as to what the white people of the South should do, as to what the Federal and State government should do. We have been told that we should educate the negro; that we should provide for transporting the negro to Mexico, to Cuba, to Central America, to Africa, or to some unsettled portion of our own vast territory; that we should do this, that, or the other, for the negro, or with the negro. In all these schemes the negro figures merely as a passive, inert, irresponsible factor: who is to have something done to him, or with him, or for him, and who is not called on to consider, or decide, or to act for himself according to his own judgment of what is best for his own interest."

If our friends would act upon this principle, then they would be able to arrive at such conclusions as must bring about the desired end more speedily than by the present alienation process. The recent Mohonk Conference called to consider the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the negro, with the negro *in persona* left out, convinces me that there is a great deal of insincerity on the part of many so-called advocates of the race, and that much of the zeal that we see is the outgrowth of a desire for notoriety rather than for the actual improvement of the condition of the race in question. What makes the affair appear more absurd is that the negro's views of the "negro question" were given by a white man. If social equality were feared by these, then there is little hope for the future. Catering to the prejudices of men only prolongs the conflict, and if the negro's friends expect to really aid him in his struggles upward, they must change their *modus operandi* and adopt a different system of tactics. The blacks are not seeking social equality and if the promoters of that Conference supposed that, they evidently utterly failed to comprehend the negro and had little conception of what such a conference must be to carry with it weight and influence. Why not give the negro a hearing,—let him plead his own cause and give his own views relative to these issues which are as vital to him as to any American citizen?

There must be a common understanding between the two races as to what is desirable and as to the best method of reaching that end. There is certainly something to be done on both sides. The whites should exercise forbearance, the blacks, patience; the whites should exercise justice, pure and simple, in granting the negro all his civil and political rights, the negro should make the most of his opportunities, winning respect and confidence by his intellectual and moral attainments and his financial worth.

A significant and pertinent remark is made by Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper when it says of this "perplexing problem":—

"It may possibly work out its own solution, but it is incumbent upon all to treat it with circumspection, with justice, and with regard for the rights of all concerned."

The Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, in his able paper on this question in *THE ARENA* for June, makes an observation that strikes the thoughtful man as being, in truth, the common ground upon which all must take a stand in this discussion:—

"The only justifiable postulate for the Christian religion and for free institutions is that God created men of one blood, and that in His likeness, and, therefore, Christ, as the Son of God, is the Brother of all mankind, and men, as the sons of God, are necessarily free, and, with equal necessity, equal. If this be not true, there is no substantial and unshakable foundation for either the Christian religion, or Christian philosophy, or free institutions. And we must accept this as the fundamental truth in all our attempts to reach the exact nature of the problem which now confronts us, and by this truth we must measure every proposed remedy for whatever evils we may suffer under."

If Mr. Breckinridge had made his deductions from these premises, instead of switching off on tangents exhibiting more prejudice than calm reason, the following tone of the article would have been in a very different vein. After such a preliminary statement, one cannot judge otherwise when he finds the admission of cruel rigor and injustice in the treatment of races that "have become colored," coupled with its justification on the ground that it is a duty to keep the races separate and "protected in those habitations which God had appointed unto it," while admitting that it is also a duty to be "just and humane." One thing is certain, if both are duties, there is no question in Christian ethics as to the claim of the latter over the former. According to the same writer there is no negro, the "vices of two hundred and fifty years"

having produced various degrees of color and "variation of character;" yet, in the same breath, the assertion is made of his being of an alien race, and of his incapacity to control because he is a negro. We are told these things and find ourselves confronted by the statement that assimilation—"the very contemplation of it—was unendurable," side by side with another which affirms the existence of "strong, mutual affections." "Incapable of control," and when consolidated, "more subject to doubtful if not actually vicious influences," it is argued that the "more numerous we could make these families in Africa, the more hopeful the outlook for the redemption of that country." We are told that "you cannot continuously keep any part of America in subjugation," that the "worst possible use you can put a man to is to proscribe him and make him hopeless," and yet seven millions of Americans are to be kept in their habitations which the South has appointed unto them—a state of servile subjugation with which there must be no outside interference.

And then, in the face of all this, "we look forward to being judged on the same judgment day, by the same Judge upon precisely the same principles,"—all of us, of course, if we are brothers according to the writer's first "postulate."

What is the negro to expect in the face of such inconsistent and fallacious argument? Nothing; for it all points one way,—a cry for non-interference of federal authority when home protection is a farce. All arguments from Southern statesmen seem to point to this as the only remedy, and the discussion about the settlement of the problem seems to be mainly to prove how in the wrong the North has been in its attitude upon the question from the days of the Civil War, as well as how dark were reconstruction days, how unwise, to say the least, the Republican party was in all its movements as regards the South and the negro. As in Senator Hampton's article "Bygones" and "Dead Issues" occupy the most of the discussion. He, too, attributes all the "ills" to the enfranchisement of the blacks and what he calls their incapacity for self government, but his statements are not justified by the facts in the case. He cites Hayti, Liberia, San Domingo, in proof, and supports his statements by directing our attention to Froude and Sir Spencer St. John, neither of whose testimony can be deemed reliable, as they, too, were

guided by their prejudices rather than by good judgment. Of the former the *Critic* for March has this to say: "Mr. Froude, as is well known, learned his political and social philosophy and his literary art from his Gamaliel, Carlyle," and, like his master, "in his secret soul he despised pretty much all the human race." This accounts for the coloring he gives to the negro's "incapacity" which he tries to *prove* by the reckless statements made by enemies of the colored race who persist in presenting a study of low types as indicative of the race.

That individual denominated the negro to-day, has shown his capacity for the exercise of virtues for which even his enemies give him credit; he has representatives in every profession doing honor to the race; he is being counted among the prosperous men financially; he has for years administered well the affairs of Grenada, which, despite Mr. Froude and others, proves capacity for government. The turbulent spirit in Hayti proves no more against him than the same spirit in France proves against the white race. He gave Senator Hampton's State his voice and vote for education, and in this line he has risen marvellously.

But after all, these things are not the question. They are only advanced to prove that the South must be left to manage this as it desires; that it is dangerous to allow the blacks to exercise their constitutional rights, and to rouse resistance against Federal supervision. Right here let me say the bill for this last makes no provisions for usurpation of power such as is claimed by its opponents, and if it did, such usurpation could not take place. It is true that it alone will not solve the problem, though it will eliminate some of the perplexing political features. The main question is *How shall we adjust the present relations between the blacks and the whites, so as to promote the general interests of all?* To this question we should stick, but in passing let me reaffirm what I have said elsewhere as to the matter of suffrage referred to by Senator Hampton.* To have failed to give the blacks the right of suffrage or to deprive them of it even now, and at the same time to permit them to remain within the state yet not of the state, without voice or vote, would precipitate far more serious trouble than would the so-called

*Forum for March.

negro supremacy. *The solid South might be broken, but the solid negro element, with a gathering enmity intensified by this great wrong, would prove a most formidable force against law.*

It is not the segregation of the negro that is intensifying his race prejudice, so much as it is the injustice done him in depriving him of his rights, and the cruelties to which he is subjected in forms varying from the mildest ostracism to murder; though I believe with Mr. Breckinridge, that it would be far better for these millions to scatter over this country, and that until this is done, America will be in a state of unrest. As this is not probable, at least at present, the trouble must be met and disposed of in some other way. To accept the inevitable, forget the past, overlook present mistakes and provide against further ill-feeling and friction, seems to be the only wise and discreet policy which can be carried out.

We must all look largely to the future, letting justice, wisdom, education, and the accumulation of wealth combine with time. "The race problem is the natural outcome of environment, and a change must be made in the environment," says Dr. J. C. Price, the negro orator. This is true and this combination will produce the change. In a professional way it is best for the negro to eschew politics, but justice and wisdom must grant him all the civil and political rights of a citizen and a man, then education, moral and intellectual, and the accumulation of wealth will work together to insure respect and bring about a different state of affairs.

But to assert arrogantly, not only the present superior advancement of the whites as a race, but the determination not to allow the negro to rise to equal heights, is only to sound continually the tocsin of war, to throw down the gauntlet which a rapidly growing intelligence will pick up and prepare to measure arms in achievements. Let the "subtile" and "irresistible powers" work in each race and let the best win. To quote Mr. Breckinridge again, "Intelligence in the long run will conquer ignorance, even if from the hands of intelligence are taken all physical weapons and to ignorance is given every form of brute force." The negro must work out his own destiny, and as Judge Fenner asserts, "from the standpoint of his own self-interests:" he must "form a just and definite conception of what the race problem

is." But he is not to be hampered by all these varying, conflicting statements which affirm that he should say, "Hands off. This is my problem, I will solve it," and then set vigorously to work to declare what he shall do and what he shall not do — in short that he must solve it by a solution proposed exclusively by the whites for their own self-interest. This assumption is as unjust as it is unwise. There are two parties interested in the solution of this great problem, and the views of each must be considered.

The present seems dark to the negro and that there is an increasing discontent, is perfectly evident, still I am far from despairing of his success in the future. In the language of Rabbi Gottheil, when referring to the condition of his own people in this land, I would say of the negro, I am of the opinion that his position will continue to improve in this great country. The old prejudice against him will gradually fade away. We shall, in no distant day, have the negro figuring not only in politics and literature, but in the fine arts and in every thing that unites to harmonize and elevate mankind, just as the men of other races.

America has been and will be, despite legislation, the gathering place of the nations and races of the whole earth. Its future must be worked out by a harmonious working together of its heterogeneous population. All must be uplifted together. It must be acknowledged by all who are struggling to solve this question, that selfish expediency never makes wrong right, that injustice reaps its own reward. In time, some way and somehow, these barriers will come down — it may be brought about by all this loud and constant discussion, as the walls of Jericho fell before the sound of trumpets in the hands of the marching Israelites. Let the thundering of right and truth come from friend or foe, and let the negro stand firm in the belief expressed by our minister to Hayti, Frederick Douglass, — "God and I make a majority." If the South and North, white and black, will unite on lines of justice and humanity to man, the race question will work out its own solution with the least friction and the best results.

SYMBOLICAL CHARACTERS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROF. SHERIDAN P. WAIT.

IN this advancing age, when the human intellect has delved so deeply in the earth, fathomed the sea, explored the heavens, and found everywhere a changeless law and order, if any written records are still to be presented and accepted as in *any* sense the product of that Supreme Intelligence whose workmanship the cosmos is, the contents of such writings must coincide in form and substance with the highest knowledge we can gain of the course of nature and the constitution of man. This, I think, the Hebrew Scriptures, when rightly interpreted, can be shown to do. Not that I wish to participate in the effort often made to read into these ancient books the results reached by the progress of modern thought along many lines; but to exercise a rightful privilege, perform a sacred duty, in presenting some measure of that vital truth represented or foreshadowed by the principal persons and events of the Old Testament, which I have been led to see and to apply.

In this discussion, we must bear in mind the fact, that, in order to a right understanding of the symbol, we must apprehend something of the qualities of the thing symbolized. Thus the key to the Old Testament is found in the New. The life of the man Jesus, as a typical human being, renders it of value for us to know what went before to make him what he was, that we may more consciously conform unto the type.

To present the subject in detail would, of course, require larger limits than those of the present article; but it is believed it is possible, even in a brief paper, to give a few examples of a rational and perfectly legitimate interpretation of certain scriptural characters, which calls upon us to consider, if it does not prove, the following propositions:—

1. The Bible is a history of the growth of the soul, from

its infancy in a state called Adam, to its manhood in a consciousness called Christ.

2. The allegories and parables, persons and events, recorded and described in the Old and New Testament scriptures, serve to illustrate, personify, and portray stages of development and phases of experience through which every human being is sooner or later destined to pass.

3. The root meanings of the words chosen as the names of individuals, who may not have had even an historical existence, and yet whose recorded lives are symbolical ones, define faculties of the mind, attributes or qualities of the soul. And, as in the demonstration of a geometrical proposition, the marks we make as aids to the mind have no place in the ideal figure whose points and lines require no space; so, with the persons and things described in the Bible, events are recorded and characters pictured in language best adapted to the solution of a problem in the intricate combination of forces involved in the progressive creation of man.

4. The account of creation given in the Book of Genesis, while having an evident literal reference to various stages and ages in the formation of the material universe, has also an inner, higher signification, prophetically descriptive of different degrees of evolution, or gradual upbuilding, through which all mankind must pass.

5. The life of nations and of individuals is marked by seven distinct periods, corresponding to the days of labor and the Sabbath day.

6. The creation of man has not yet been completed; but the typical line of descent, which terminated, through Joseph and Mary, in Jesus, individualizes a universal and orderly method, in which the laws of Heredity and Environment, and the Law of Laws, the Divine Overshadowing, co-operate and combine to foretell, in the Christ, what the perfected human race is to be.

7. The birth, nature, and mission of Jesus the Christ mark the fulfilment of natural laws and reveal possibilities within the reach of realization by all men, after the foundation has been laid, broad and strong, in physical, intellectual, and moral development, for that glorious superstructure, a spiritual consciousness.

The name of God is the first to which a symbolical character is given in the Old Testament. It has formed the

basis of an idea that has advanced from the simple feticism of a barbarous people to the more refined symbolisms and elaborate theologies of Christendom. In no two minds will the mention of the word God awaken the same imagery or evoke the same feeling, because it does not come through the doorway of the understanding. Yet, in reality, the name Elohim, which is employed throughout the first chapter of Genesis as the exponent of creative power, is not a mere verbal symbol for an inconceivable abstraction. Its root meanings, when carefully collected from the best authorities and arranged in proper order, furnish us a framework upon which to form a rational conception of a Causative Principle and its orderly method in creation. It signifies a Power which in and by itself exists, which from itself proceeds, going forth, entering into, becoming for a time as nothing, setting up motion, causing revolution, ruling, directing, and finally bringing about relations of beauty, harmony, majesty, and perfection in that to which it has imparted life.

This gives to us a God-idea such as the felt necessities of right reasoning demand. It affirms the involution of the life of God as the causation of all so-called natural evolution. It takes up the thread of research where physical science leaves it, and postulates God as a seed-sowing Power administering germs of life as fast, as far, as fully as conditions of receptivity are established. It wipes forever from the mental tablets all conceptions of God as to form and personality enthroned afar in space and ruling, by an arbitrary fiat, the universe He has made. And in their stead it gives to us a view of creation in which, at every step, the power of Elohim is manifest in law and order. A world such as this we live upon is the outwrought expression, through evolution, of the involution of a planet-seed or soul. Primitive protoplasm was but a plastic preparation to be moulded by higher principles of life. The long line leading upward from the first appearance of the sea-plant to the birth of the polyp, and from the amœba to man, is but a chain of many links, each forged by the same process, each the expression of the same creative handiwork.

Thus, then, creation is not an instant act, but a continuous process; not the making of something out of nothing, but a re-arrangement, re-combination, re-formation of materials

already in existence. This is the meaning of the Hebrew words *bara* and *asah*, rendered *to create* in our accepted version of the Scriptures. And creation is marked throughout its entire course by the principle of continuity, so that we are never put to an intellectual confusion by the appearance of effects without adequate and lawful causes.

In the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis, there is given, in conjunction with Elohim, another name of the Deity, Yahweh, or Jehovah, which is afterwards particularly used in referring to relations of man with his Maker. The root of the word Jehovah conveys simply the idea of existence, being, life, that which is by reason of its own virtue, which was, and ever shall be. It is the germ of this nature innate in the soul that has, in all ages, quickened into life the hope of immortality, and gives rise to the consciousness that we will be what we *will* to be.

There is still another name of the Creator, used in certain portions of the Hebrew scriptures, which it is important for us to consider,—El Shaddai, or Shaddai, translated, God Almighty, or Almighty. El is from the same root as Elohim, and carries with it all the force of that word. Shaddai signifies, primarily, to shed or pour forth energy, or that which nourishes and sustains life. From the same root are derived words which denote the act of a mother in nursing her offspring; the office of the earthly maternal parent being a beautiful and most expressive type and correspondence of the principle of motherhood in the Divine Nature. The words, “In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them,” refer to the distinction of sex in humanity as the highest counter-partal form and likeness of the essential character of Deity. As without the union of these two natures no species can be propagated, no form of life begotten and brought forth, so, by analogy, do we know that these seemingly opposite attributes must inhere in the Supreme Causation of all that is, combining to form the unity of the Creator and Sustainer of Life.

The Hebrew word first used for man, *Ahdham*, Adam, is not the title of a person, but a generic name, descriptive of the qualities of the genus to which it is applied. Its root, and kindred ones, indicate,—1, to be red, to bloom, to unfold, to vitalize; 2, the earth, the ground; 3, to liken, to compare, to think, to reason. It thus defines the three-

fold nature of man,—spiritual, physical, intellectual; or, soul, body, mind; soul being the human seed or life principle; body, the manifestation of soul-power through physical organism, or objective form; mind, the manifestation of soul-power through psychical faculties, or subjective consciousness.

The Hebrew verb-forms, from which all other words of the language are drawn, denote state and quality, principle and process, without reference to time, so that the so-called future tense is often used in what has been regarded as history, while the so-called past tense is employed in many passages deemed prophetic. Thus, then, the only sure reading of the record is that which grasps the ideal meaning of the words and separates the letter which killeth, by its many contradictions and inconsistencies, from the spirit or truth within, all the phases of which are in harmony with each other. In this way we will see that the supposed primal perfection of man was wholly prophetic. His advent upon the earth was not brought about by the setting aside or transgression of any law previously written in the nature of things. It was consummated in conformity to the same plan and process by which the heavens were fashioned and the kingdoms and orders of the earth begotten and brought forth. When that point was reached in the line of progressive creation where the species of brute was born most like in outward appearance to the human form, the time had come for the power of Elohim, acting in conjunction with the natural law of propagation, to manifest its nature and presence in a higher degree than had been shown before upon this planet. Forth from the Perfect Life came the soul of man as a seed bearing latent within it the attributes of the Godhead itself; but placed or planted in organic, physiological, and psychological association with a prepared physical body and animal soul. This descent of the soul from an unindividualized existence in the nature of God, down and into a prepared material environment, to gain therein a necessary experience, was the fall of man,—not his lapsing from a state of original purity here upon the earth. As the vegetable has to go into the ground to become rooted for its upward growth, so the human soul enters its material environment, gains its earthly experience, that by its own volition it shall finally arise with dominion and power, at one with

its Father and God, through the knowledge gained of His laws in every department of being, and a conscious conformity thereto.

In the beginning of man heaven and earth were created, the human and the animal were joined. Yet the earth was without form, and void and darkness was upon the whole mental abyss. The spirit of Elohim brooded for ages over this unformed state of the soul, inserting from generation to generation, in the tree of Life, the shoots of a higher mentality. The prophetic fiat, Let there be light! went forth with the primitive man; but its fulfilment was not realized until the Sun of Righteousness arose in Palestine.

The line of descent from Adam to Jesus is a typical one, and is perfectly applicable to the life of man, whether he has been upon the earth six thousand years or six hundred thousand. The names given represent degrees of growth, and not mere individuals. Arranging it in epochs corresponding to the days of creation we have,—1, the Adamic; 2, the Noachian; 3, the Abrahamic; 4, the age of Jacob or Israel; 5, the Law; 6, the Prophets; 7, the completed cycle or Sabbath day, the Christ.

Our space will only allow us to consider a few symbolical characters embraced in these divisions, emphasizing that which they represent to us here and now.

In the account of the making of woman from the rib of man, the words used describe a new condition reached in the development of human consciousness. *Tsalah*, rib, signifies an extension. *Neqablah*, female, and *Hhavah*, Eve, indicate *receptivity*. As through woman outwardly the race has increased from age to age, by family, tribe, and nation, so, through the female receptive condition of the soul, without distinction as to sex, has all mental growth been brought about. As every masculine type, patriarch, priest, and prophet, elder, judge, and king, was fulfilled in Jesus, the Christ, so the female principle, first foreshadowed as Eve, received its highest name and symbolization as Mary.

The first product of the mental receptivity, personified as Eve, is the result of its contact with a material environment, and is called Cain, which word is from a root descriptive of the selfishness and passion of the natural state of man, it meaning to beat, to hammer, to acquire, to hold, heat, anger, jealousy. Abel has the same meaning as the

Hebrew and Greek words for spirit, i. e., the breath. Thus, then, the killing of Abel by Cain represents the higher, spiritual nature of man deprived of life or power of expression, by the predominance of the lower appetites, desires, and propensities. It not only refers to that early stage of human existence, when the whole outward aspect of mankind showed that the Cain within had slain its brother, and which condition, even to-day, so many tribes and nations represent; but it also defines what takes place in every soul whenever a higher inspiration or desire is not actualized because of some ruling earthly passion or ambition. At all such times the kingdom of heaven within us suffers violence, and the blood of righteous Abel cries for vengeance in the condemning voice of an outraged conscience.

The name of Seth, who takes the place of Abel, means to be set, fixed, firmly founded. It indicates the establishment, in the mind, of that spiritual train of thought and motive which Abel foreshadows. Hence the ultimate of the line of Seth is the Christ.

Eden signifies delight, pleasure. Man's banishment therefrom is not *expulsion* from one place to another, but *impulsion* from a lower state to a higher. There is a power in his soul to urge him upward from the garden of sensual enjoyment, that in it he shall have no lasting satisfaction, but shall press forward, through the ages of his evolution, to the attainment of that perfect paradise, the exercise of his higher faculties in wisdom and love for his kind, when all that was foreshadowed in the ancient allegory shall in spirit and in truth be realized.

The name Noah signifies to rest, a station reached, a new state in the soul's travail.

Snem is from the same root as the Hebrew word for heaven, that kingdom which the Christ declared is within us,—the Spiritual.

Ham indicates, in the sense of heat and darkness, those passions, and that ignorance first personified as Cain,—the Physical.

Japhet signifies to be broadened out, enlarged, extended, describing the development and education of the third department of the mind of man,—the Intellectual.

The word used for Ark, *tebah*, means to hold. It indicates the complex organization of human nature, into which has

entered the elements and characteristics of every created thing which moves in the water, flies in the air, or lives upon the land.

Water represents *motion*, formative action. So, then, the flood indicates a period of transition, a process of preparation, a time of becoming.

We find in the subsequent history of the higher branches of the human family the perfect fulfilment of what was prophesied in the names attributed to the sons of Noah.

The offspring of Shem, through the line of Arphaxad and Heber, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were set apart for the purpose of giving to the world the imagery of types and signs, forms and ceremonies, precepts and prophecies, pertaining to higher religious or spiritual things.

The descendants of Ham settled in Egypt, and also laid the foundation of the Canaanitish and Chaldeo-Babylonian empires. The building of cities, monuments, and pyramids, the perpetuation of dynasties from age to age, and the establishment of codes of government and systems of law, proclaimed the progress and typical perfection of man in physical relations.

The line of Japhet was carried onward to its highest type through Javan and his sons, who peopled the Ionian isles and became the parent stock of the Greeks, whose poetry and philosophy, literature and art made known the symbolic perfection of the intellect.

Abram, or Abraham, whose name and typical life mark the third epoch or day in the line from Seth onward, represents the attribute or faculty of *faith*. Abram signifies the father or cause of elevation or advancement upward; Abraham, the father or cause of increase. Although so little understood, faith has been recognized in all religious teachings as the fundamental factor in the soul's experience of a higher life. The Hebrew word *emun*, faith, signifies *a firm foundation*. It does not denote credulity or belief, nor the intellectual acceptance of any formulated creed or doctrine, nor any state of mere emotion. It defines the exercise of a function by the soul of man, corresponding, in its relation to his spiritual nature, with seeing and hearing and other sense-perceptions which form the basis of his knowledge of things pertaining to the world of changing forms and fleeting phenomena. Hence, faith, true faith, is a state of conscious-

ness, a perception of the relations of things as they are in the realm of the real, a knowledge of the moving within and upon us, to inspire, to guide, to direct, to sustain, to uplift, of an intelligence and power surpassing in degree and kind, all that the unaided self can think or do, and which will make provision for us, according to our lawful needs and efforts, whatsoever the exigency that may arise.

The next epoch is represented by the patriarch Jacob or Israel. Jacob signifies *an arch* or *vault*; Israel, that which is set in order by the power of Elohim. Applied to the great universe, the arch or vault denotes the blue dome of space which marks the boundary of our field of vision in the world above, and which is set in order with shining tokens of creative power. In their application to the little universe, to man, the microcosm, these words prophetically portray the mental curve or arch of perfected mind and brain-structure, whose faculties shall show forth, like the resplendent orbs on high, an orderly arrangement by the Power of God.

In the names of the twelve sons of Jacob, a more complete chart is given of the mental powers, showing that each individual personified a faculty, and collectively they foreshadowed a principle that was carried onward by their descendants, and which reached its highest objective type in the twelve disciples chosen by Jesus.

Our space will not allow us to give the etymologies in detail, but simply to sum up in one word the attribute represented by each of those symbolical characters who were the fathers and founders of the tribes of Israel, viz., Reuben — Perception; Simeon — Understanding; Levi — Association; Judah — Faith; Dan — Judgment; Naphtali — Combative-ness; Gad — Memory; Asher — Will; Issachar — Selfish-ness; Zebulun — Socialty; Joseph — Constructiveness; Benjamin — Conscientiousness.

When all these faculties are brought forth and rightly functionized, the lower governed by the higher, then man is finished in the image, according to the likeness of his God. Then no man's hand shall any more be raised against his brother, but each shall do by each as he would have done unto him, knowing that no lasting individual good can come but through the common good of all. For every man is the miniature of society, and as individuals attain an inward harmony will they enter into and maintain the larger rela-

tions of life as members of one body. This is the truth foreshadowed in the organization of the typical tribes of Israel. Their subsequent career symbolized the travail of the universal soul, out from the bondage of ignorance and appetite, led by the law and the spirit of prophecy to the truth in organic form, the Christ.

Up to the age of Moses, symbolical individuals serve to point out the upward path of mind. But from that time onward the Jewish and other nations carry forward and fulfil the principles before personified. As the typical line of descent approaches its completion in Jesus, we behold, in the Roman empire, its outward correspondence. From an origin shrouded in obscurity, and by a growth for many generations insignificant, Rome had risen, step by step, to be the mistress of the world. At the coming of the Christ her dominion embraced the highest representatives of Hamitic, Japhetic, and Shemitic development. Egypt, Babylon, and Persia, Greece and all her colonies, were included in that vast empire of which Judea was deemed an unimportant province. All the law and literature, religion, philosophy, and art, of the past, were mingled in Rome. The typical perfection of physical, intellectual, and spiritual growth which had been achieved in Egypt, Greece, and Palestine, was here united to form a mental matrix for the reception of that seed of truth which shall, in process of time, bring forth in human life those heavenly things by prophets seen and poets sung.

At this point in the world's history its central fact occurs, the begetting, birth, and life of Jesus the Christ, son of man through evolution, child of God by involution, whose nature and mission, rightly understood, solve every problem connected with the origin, nature, and destiny of the soul. In the record of his conception the law of laws is revealed, and the missing causative link supplied which makes science religious and religion scientific.*

Because of the weakness, the ignorance, and earthiness of

* The divine overshadowing, as a law of laws, was first apprehended, some fifteen years ago, by Dr. Horace Bowen, now at the head of the Remedial Institute, West End Alameda, Cal. It has been my privilege to assist in the generalization of this law, and in tracing its corroborations in the book of nature and of revelation. The results of this generalization will, in due time, be fully published, nothing having as yet been printed in reference thereto, only in synoptical form for private circulation among those who have attended lectures given upon the subject.—S. P. W.

unfinished man, the action of the overshadowing Power of God was set forth in the Gospels of the New Testament in the same parabolic, allegorical language as the account of creation given in the book of Genesis, that it might be adapted to the necessities of the human mind in all stages of its development. The ideas so long entertained of the making of something out of nothing, the formation of the earth and all that dwells upon it in six literal days of twenty-four hours each, the creation of man out of dust, of woman from the rib of man, and their fall from a perfect state by giving heed to the sophistries of a snake, belong to the same category as the conception that Almighty God held intercourse with a Jewish maiden and brought forth a son. But, as we have seen that underlying the literal narrative of the Old Testament there is conveyed by the original sense of the words a statement of laws and principles, so is the same truth made apparent by a similar analysis of the New Testament.

The account of the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, and the announcement, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, wherefore, also that which shall be born shall be called holy, the Son of God," is an objective picture of the working of creative forces in the human soul. The Virgin Mary represents the female, *receptive*, state of mind first personified as Eve, through which all higher mental power has come. Virgin, *parthenos*, *bethulah*, *almah*, signifies that which has been set apart, consecrated to a special purpose; Mary denotes *fulness*, *rebellion*. Thus, we have defined that receptive state of the soul which in the line from Seth downward had been set apart, consecrated to the special purpose of bringing forth types and prophecies, statutes and commandments, pertaining to spiritual things; and now that the fulness of time had come, and the work of preparation was accomplished, the soul rebelled at the rule of symbols and signs, and refused to receive the generative action of any but the highest order of intelligence, which should finish its creation. Through physical, intellectual, and moral conditions, high, higher, and still higher it had passed, and now the spiritual, the highest plane of consciousness was to be gained. And what took place then must, sooner or later, become the experience of every soul.

Joseph, the husband of Mary, represents, as his name indi-

cates, the masculine positive, organizing, constructive power of the human intellect. Although the highest product of ages of growth and progressive creation, this state of mind does not *know*, cannot understand, that interior receptivity, which Mary personifies, until after it has brought forth the fruit of its union with a Higher Power.

Joseph and Mary, as individuals, were the highest offspring of the two lines of descent from David, the one through Solomon, the other through Nathan; and in body and mind they represented the best results reached through the ages of culture bestowed upon their families to the end of fitting them, physiologically and psychologically, for a mission of a greater importance than had ever before been performed by human beings. Owing to the work of special preparation that had been accomplished by their direct lines of descent, they possessed natures radically different from that of the masses of the Jewish people, and were fit instruments to co-operate with the action, in its highest capacity connected with the soul of man, of that Overshadowing Power from which all life has come and which moves ever in conjunction and in harmony with natural law by it ordained.

The creative method for the propagation of physical forms is written in the constitution of the male and female of every species. The New Testament was not given to tell how the *body* of Jesus was begotten. He did not come into the world to show a physical strength greater than that of the gladiators of Rome, or to overthrow by superior argument the schoolmen of Greece. His distinctive power was SPIRITUAL; and as like causes always produce like effects, its origin was spiritual, although his physical, intellectual, and moral states were begotten by Joseph and Mary, in the same way that every other child is begotten, and carries with it the organic development reached by its parents. Hence the story of his birth was written to inculcate spiritual truth, as is also every portion of the record of his words and works. And as we come into conformity to the precepts he propounded, will there be wrought out in our experience, in change of character, disposition, and habits, in transformation from ignorance, selfishness, and disease, the reality of all the wonders told of him.

The realization of this is made possible, because, through nineteen centuries of gradual growth, the Messianic leaven

has worked in men and nations. Building, as God ever builds, in an orderly way, we find, first, a physical or Hamitic Christianity, with signs and symbols appealing to every sense-perception, moving the unenlightened mind through hope and fear. This is expressed in organic form by the magnificent ritual and elaborate institutions of the Roman Catholic Church.

The second stage, the Japhetic or intellectual manifestation of Christianity, is shown in the varied sects of Protestantism.

The third, the Shemitic or spiritual, has already been begun in the consciousness of many. It is to be the distinctive mark of this and the coming age. It is the universal Christ to be born in the souls of men, to make them free through knowledge of the truth, which is the perception of the relations of things as they are, as distinguished from belief in illusory appearances.

THE PROROGATION OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

BY GENERAL MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

DURING a visit to London in the summer of 1889, I was enabled, through the courtesy of our Minister, the Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, to witness the ceremonies of the prorogation of the British Parliament by the Queen's commission. The prorogation occurred on the 30th of August.

The members of the House of Lords began to assemble on that morning about twelve o'clock. Neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords were as full as usual, but this did not deprive the ceremony of its quaint and interesting character. In the House of Commons the few questions, of which notice had been given, were not answered, on account of the absence of ministers. Even if the ministers had been present in full force, the House of Lords would have given but little attention to any serious business, because they regarded the work of the session as over.

The House of Commons met punctually at twelve o'clock, and the usual prayers were offered up. In the House of Lords the members began to assemble before twelve o'clock.

The first one to appear was the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in long black gown and white surplice. Next came the Lord Chancellor, followed by others, when prayers were said asking the blessing of Heaven for her Majesty the Queen, and all the royal family. The Lord Chancellor retired, but soon reappeared and with him came the members of the Royal Commission, Lord Lothian, the Earl of Coventry, the Earl of Limerick, and Lord Knutsford. These were all dressed in long loose robes of scarlet, with white sleeve bands. They all wore the traditional black cocked hat.

Soon after their arrival, the yeoman usher of the black rod made his appearance. He was an old gray-haired man, feeble of step, with ancient and eccentric dress, with sword hanging

from his side. He stood, with reverential look, before the bench occupied by the Lord Chancellor, and his colleagues who were there as representatives of her Majesty the Queen. He bowed profoundly, with a solemnity which is indescribable. The Lord Chancellor returned his bow with due gravity, and said, "Notify the members of the House of Commons that the Lords require their immediate presence." The yeoman usher bowed to the Lord Chancellor, at the same time lifting his gold knobbed-stick to his forehead, and marched with stately step to the door of the House of Commons.

He passed without let or hindrance through the outer hall, and into the inner lobby. On his arrival at the main entrance of the House of Commons, he found the doors closed. He drew from his side a number of keys which he rattled together, and tapped them against the lock. This was answered by a tapping from within, when the bolts were withdrawn and the door opened.

The sergeant-at-arms of the house made his respectful bow to the yeoman usher, and invited him to enter. In a tone of superiority he commanded the members of the House of Commons, in the Queen's name, to immediately attend the House of Lords. The members of the House at once formed in procession, headed by the Speaker, and the sergeant-at-arms bearing the mace on his shoulder. These were followed by members of the House in two's, Unionist, Liberals, Tories, and Parnellites, moving like soldiers.

The Commons were compelled to rap at the door of the House of Lords and go through with some ceremony before being admitted. On their admission they were assigned to seats which had been prepared for them. Then the Queen's message was read to the two Houses assembled, in which she addressed them as "My Lords and Gentlemen." The first sentence of the Queen's speech was: "It is with much satisfaction that I release you from the labors of a protracted session." The speech then referred to the relations with foreign powers, and special reference was made to a conference upon the affairs of Samoa, consisting of representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, which was assembled at Berlin, and which agreed upon a convention for regulating the government of those islands. This statement concluded with the words: "This instrument has been ac-

cepted by me, and by the German Emperor, and now awaits the assent of the Senate of the United States." After referring to other relations with foreign powers, the speech recited, "Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I gladly acknowledge the care and liberality with which you have provided for the wants of the public service." Concluding, addressing "My Lords and Gentlemen," the Queen thanked the Parliament for its general measures, and concluded the speech as follows: "In the hope that under the operation of your wise councils, it may be strengthened and prolonged by the hearty concord of all of my subjects, I commend you reverently to the care of Almighty God." On the conclusion of the reading of the Queen's speech the Hon. Slingsby Bethell, the reading clerk, arose and read the titles of the bills passed during the session. On the conclusion of the reading of each bill, the clerk of Parliament arose and bowed to the chair, and then gave notice in old Norman French, "*Le Rein le veut*" (the Queen wills it). This is the mode of the approval of acts of Parliament by the Queen.

An exception is made in the approval of a bill of supplies, or as we call it in our Congress, an appropriation bill. The words then used are "*La Rein remercie sees loyal subjects, accepte leur benevolence et aussi le veut.*"

Blackstone says of this mode of approving bills that the old Norman French words serve as a reminder that the liberties of England were once lost by a foreign force, and vigilance is required to prevent a recurrence.

Under the government of Cromwell, this mode was discontinued. The mode then adopted was to say on the reading of any ordinary bill, "The Lord Protector doth consent," and to a bill of supply, "Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been chief governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard for the public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein." At the termination of the Commonwealth the old system came into use, and has continued down to the present day.

The ceremonies being ended in the House of Lords, the Commons returned to their chamber in the same order of procession as they came. The Queen's speech was then read by the Speaker, and the business of the house ended.

The members flocked around the Speaker and engaged in a

hearty handshaking and leavetaking, and soon the chamber was deserted.

On this occasion and for this time only, ladies were admitted to seats on the floor of the House of Lords. This was confined to ladies of the nobility, wives and members of the families of members of the House of Lords, and certain privileged persons. As an exception to this rule I give the following incident: A lady came to the door of the Lord's entrance desiring admittance, but found she had lost her ticket or card. The stern usher refused her admittance. She was of course quite embarrassed and about to retire, when one of the Lords came to the usher and asked him to admit the lady to the floor. The usher replied, "My Lord, she has no ticket." His Lordship replied, "She is an American lady and has lost her ticket; admit her on my order." She was at once admitted and comfortably seated.

When the Lord Chancellor enters the House of Lords to open the sitting, he is preceded by the bearer of the seals and mace, who lays them down when his Lordship has arrived at the woolsack, and then the chaplain reads prayers.

The Lord Chancellor is *ex officio* president of the House of Lords. As president, or moderator, he sits on the woolsack, but when acting in his judicial capacity he occupies a chair.

In both houses of Parliament the ministers and their supporters occupy benches on that side of the house which is to the right of the speaker or Lord Chancellor. When there is a change of government, the parties change sides. The front seat is occupied by the ministers, which is called the Treasury Bench. There is one exception to the rule of changing places on change of government in the House of Lords. The Lord's spiritual archbishops and bishops always remain on the right behind the treasury bench. Many members sit with hats on, but the proceedings are conducted with great gravity, quite out of keeping with the proceedings of the lower house.

There are five classes of peers in Great Britain. 1. Peers of England. 2. Peers of Scotland. 3. Peers of Ireland. 4. Peers of the United Kingdom, and 5. Peers of the Episcopal Bench. All peers of England are entitled to seats in the House of Lords; so also those of the United Kingdom, though their locality be either in Scotland or Ireland. Every peerage has a locality, though the possessor may remove and

reside elsewhere. The peers of England in some cases hold an equal or superior right in the peerages of Scotland and Ireland. The peerages of Ireland and Scotland are entitled to seats in the House of Lords only by representation, both being limited. The two archbishops and bishops of England are peers in right of certain ancient baronies which they hold under the crown.

The House of Parliament, or Westminster Palace as it is called, is situated immediately on the bank of the Thames, one street removed from Westminster Abbey. The present building was erected on the site of the one destroyed by fire in 1834, and was begun in 1840. It is said to be the largest Gothic structure in the world. It covers an area of about eight acres, and the river façade is nine hundred feet in length. The materials of which it is built are chiefly iron and stone, the river terrace being constructed of Aberdeen granite. The exterior shows elaborate statues of all the reigning sovereigns from the conquest to the present time. At the southwest angle is the famous Victoria Tower, which is 75 feet square and 340 feet in height. The arched entrance is 65 feet in height, and the central tower is 60 feet in diameter. The clock tower near Parliament Street is 40 feet square and 320 feet high. The clock in this tower runs for eight days. The quarter hours are announced upon a chime of bells, and the hours are struck upon a bell called "Big Ben," which weighs thirteen tons.

The hall of the House of Peers is one of the most magnificent in the world. It is 97 feet in length, 45 feet wide, and 45 feet high. It was opened April 15, 1847. On the south end of the hall is the royal throne which is decorated with a richly gilded canopy. On the right and a little lower is the throne of the Prince of Wales, and on the left that of the Prince Consort. The bar of the house is on the north end, and here communications from the House of Commons are delivered.

Above are galleries for reporters and strangers, quite limited, however, as compared to like accommodations in our capitol. On the sides there are gallery accommodations for foreign ministers and distinguished visitors.

The woolsack on which the Lord Chancellor sits is nearly in the centre of the hall. • The woolsack is a huge pillow encased in red cloth. The benches are all of the same color.

Within this building there are one hundred staircases, over two miles of corridors, and eleven hundred apartments. It is heated by sixteen miles of steam pipes. The gas bills for the building amount to eighteen thousand dollars per annum. The entire cost of the building amounted to fifteen millions of dollars.

Adjoining and a part of the Parliament House is Westminster Hall, which is a noted historical place. This hall is 290 feet long, 68 feet wide, and 92 feet in height. The roof is supported without the aid of columns. This hall was a part of the palace of the Anglo-Saxon Kings and was used by them to the time of Henry the Eighth. In 1291 it was nearly destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt by Edward the Second. In 1398 it was remodelled and enlarged, and further repairs were made in 1820.

The early English Parliaments were held here, by one of which Edward the Second, and by another, Richard the Second, lost their crowns.

Here Charles the First was tried and condemned and Cromwell acknowledged as Lord Protector. Here William Wallace was condemned to death, and Sir John Oldcastle, Sir Thomas Moore, the Protector Somerset, Robert Devereux (Earl of Essex), Guy Fawkes, and the Earl of Strafford were sent to the block. In this hall also were tried Lord Byron for the killing of Chaworth in a duel, Lord Ferrers for killing his valet, and here was held the historic trial of Warren Hastings so graphically described by Macaulay.

I was the bearer of a letter of introduction from an American Bishop of the Episcopal Church to a very distinguished English clergyman. On presenting my letter I was received with the greatest cordiality and invited to dine two days afterwards. The dinner party consisted of six persons. Next to me was seated at the table a member of the House of Lords who asked me if I knew any of the descendants of the Hon. Richard Rush, of Philadelphia, who was the United States Minister to Great Britain in 1817. I told him that I regretted I did not, and ventured to ask the reason for his question. He replied that his grandfather was connected with the British Foreign Office while Mr. Rush was Minister, and knew Mr. Rush and Mr. Gallatin (who was sent as special minister), and had the highest regard for them. He said that the execution of Arbuthnot

and Ambrister (two British subjects) by order of General Andrew Jackson caused the greatest excitement in England, and nearly led to a war. These men led the Seminole Indians to warfare against the United States, and they were guilty of the most inhuman cruelties and murders. General Jackson captured them and had them tried by a court martial, by which they were found guilty, and they were summarily executed. This gentleman further said that Lord Castlereagh, who was then the premier, had told his grandfather that nothing but the firmness and outspoken frankness of Mr. Rush averted a war.

BEHIND THE MASK.

BY REV. EDWARD P. FOSTER.

THE article by William Lloyd Garrison in the April number of *THE ARENA*, in which he speaks of the Nationalist movement under the title, "The Mask of Tyranny," is admirable in its spirit of fairness and candor towards the views of those whom he opposes, and in its tone of kindly criticism, unmarred by contemptuous or sarcastic flings.

There is in it much food for thought, and yet it will not convince the Nationalists or Socialists of the supposed error of their ways.

The point in which they will disagree with him is in his representation of government as a power by which the people will tyrannize over themselves. State Socialism, as of Germany, with the power concentrated in the hands of the emperor, may become unlimited absolutism, when the conviction of the ruler is "Ich genüge" or "L'Etat, c'est moi," but the "mask of tyranny" will be torn into harmless shreds so fine as to be invisible before it can be stretched enough to cover the face of an entire nation such as the republic in which we dwell.

Socialists might shiver with dismay under "the irony of the proposition that a government which has strangled its foreign shipping by suicidal tariffs, should be allowed to direct all commerce," if they had made any such proposition "gravely" or otherwise. The "one grand monopolist" which "it is complacently assumed by Nationalism" will make all well, is not "the government," as so persistently assumed by individualists, but the people acting in their collective capacity. Nationalism protests that it is precisely our present system of government that conceals tyranny under the mask of liberty. They do not ask more, but less, of such "paternalism," for it is not the equal care of a father for his children, but favoritism.

Socialism would not destroy originality or individual free-

dom. It would increase it, by removing the restrictions that are now placed upon it. Who will argue that the child, that by stress of hunger is driven into the factory at the age of six, and by the time it has reached maturity is dwarfed and stunted both in body and in intellect, has been granted soul-stirring freedom? That is the result of our present Ishmaelitic state of society. The nation will surely do a wise thing if it can provide for each child opportunity to develop every faculty. To make that a possibility its physical wants must be supplied, food, shelter, clothing. Shall the nation purchase these things from some individual producer, and give him a profit, or be its own contractor and producer? As a mere business arrangement, the latter course would be the proper one, but it is something higher than "business" for which the nation is caring. It is for the welfare of its children, and it must be assured that the food is not adulterated, and is properly cooked, and that the clothing is not shoddy. Then come dwellings, and they must not be crowded tenements, cheap in competition, but ruinous to life and power, and so too dear for the nation to build. Then school-houses, books, and instructors must be provided. For the teachers, also, such provision must be made as to insure their giving themselves not to money-making, nor to the cultivation of political influence with school-boards, in order to retain their position, but to the proper training of the scholars. That much, at least, is necessary to individual development, and by the time it is reached we shall be well on the road towards Nationalism.

Mr. Garrison thinks that the management under which great trusts have flourished might not be secured for a "government trust," and that it would consequently be liable to failure. "Great captains of industry," he says, "are not to be had for the asking."

It is fair to ask who our "great captains of industry" really are. Is that title denied to the girls in the laundries, who stand in a hot room fourteen hours, or on Saturdays, eighteen to twenty hours? Is it denied to the man who stands on the front platform of a street car fifteen hours, three times as long as the horses are permitted to work, and keeps that up for seven days a week? Is it intended to apply only to the men who can restrict the industry that would dig coal from the mines of Pennsylvania or Illinois; to the man who

can permit industry to build a thousand houses on Manhattan Island, and himself month by month pocket the proceeds of their rent; to the men who will allow engineers and brakemen to transport corn from the prairies of Nebraska or Kansas, but still put such restrictions upon the business as to make the industry that raises the corn think it better sometimes to burn the corn than to ship it; to the men who manipulate legislatures, and judges, and congressmen, and senates, and presidential conventions, in their own interests; to the men who shackle productive industry, and attempt to defend their action by the plea of "over-production," the word that in itself is an unanswerable argument for a people's trust as opposed to the selfish individual trusts whose greatest danger and fear is exactly that they may supply the people's needs?

That the copper trust came "to grief" is used as an argument against the possibility of a nation organizing industries successfully. The argument is far stronger when used against Mr. Garrison. What brought the copper trust "to grief," as he expresses it? It was over-production, or the production of such an enormous amount of copper that the price of the article fell in the market. That was a calamity to the trust, but it could not possibly harm the users of copper. Cheapened copper would be a blessing to the people. The object of a people's copper trust would be to produce copper. The object of the selfish copper trust was diametrically opposed to that, as is conclusively proved by the fact that it was precisely the production of copper that swamped the trust.

Mr. Garrison speaks of the "degeneracy of character bred by dependence." But is not that at least offset by the degeneracy caused by the wolfish struggle for existence, that makes the haggard forms we meet upon the city's streets; that drives thousands of girls to choose between dishonor and starvation; that stirs up envy and hatred among the poor, and ossifies the heart of the rich in haughty pride? Moreover, it is the present system that causes the feeling of dependence. That would not be possible in brotherhood realized, except in the family sense in which we are all dependent upon each other.

Mr. Garrison says that "in spite of the Nationalist's protest, his plan must include a power from which there is no

appeal, and which is despotism, call it by what soft name you may." That power must also be included in the individualist's plan, protest as he will. The ancients called it Fate; theists called it God; materialists called it Nature. It has evolved the universe into its present condition. It teaches that love is better than hate, that union is stronger than disunion. It makes absolutely impossible the individualist's dream of independency. No one of us was consulted beforehand as to whether or not he should be brought into existence. Was that tyranny? We were not consulted as to our mental endowments, or our hereditary tendencies. We were fed and cradled by others. We had nothing to say about our nationality. We were not permitted to choose our brothers, or sisters, or neighbors, or our father's business, and all had its influence in making us what we are. Between the ninth century or the nineteenth, it was not ours to choose. Selkirk, on his desolate island, did not escape from his relations to the human race. It is not mere words but the logic of events that to-day is teaching resistlessly that humanity is an organism, the "body politic." The nations muster martial millions, and arm themselves with mightier weapons than the thunderbolts of Jove. Are they thereby resistless? No; they begin to see that the choice is either universal disarmament or universal annihilation. The international law of God says that they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. The same thing is true in the business relations of mankind. In the marvellously complex interdependence of our industrial relationship, to talk of a "private business" is to be guilty of a contradiction in terms. It is a condition, not a theory that confronts us. Commercial competition compelled business men to organize into corporations, and syndicates, and trusts. Competition among laborers compelled them to organize into guilds and unions. The two organized hosts now confront each other. There is but one choice permitted them. It is either to wage destructive warfare with each other, or to join their ranks in the common battle against the foes of humanity, hunger, and cold, and nakedness. They have racially and logically, common ground on which to stand, and they must have it also literally, as the single tax reformers teach. Finding that, however, they must still remember that they are brothers, and not enemies, partners, and not competitors.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER IN SCHOOLS.

BY ABBY MORTON DIAZ.

As character is the saving and ruling element in the individual, and individuals compose the State, it is plain that the salvation of the State depends upon the individual possession of the essential (saving) attributes,—truth, honor, justice, fidelity, integrity, purity. Whoever loses these is lost indeed. According then as its people have or have not these is the State saved or lost. Should any ask if the State is now in danger, they will find the answer staring them in the face from newspapers everywhere. “Fraud!” “Rascality!” “Villainy!” “Corruption!” are daily served out to readers too familiar with the terms to feel surprise. It is a very open secret that money secures office, controls legislation, and influences the proceedings of our courts. Those well acquainted with legislative proceedings in Washington and elsewhere, declare that no measure is ever carried on its own merits, and that any movement for the suppression of any wrong is hindered by those whose interests would thus be endangered. The fact that the general adulteration of goods and the continuance of various kinds of badness are considered matters of course, shows a lowering of the moral standard far more dangerous than wrong-doing recognized as such. As to religious restraints, a prominent religious newspaper has spoken regretfully of “the connection of professing Christians with dishonest railroad speculations, with stock gambling, with financial jobbery, with knavishness in business management.”

The situation as openly acknowledged forces upon us the conviction that we the people are losing the saving attributes of character, and that the State is thereby endangered. If another conviction would but force itself upon us, namely, the conviction that the State is neglecting what can be made a means of its salvation, and that in striving to suppress wrong-doing by penal enactments, it is misdirecting its ener-

gies and wasting its substance! Conduct is simply character working out into appearance, and even plain common sense might teach the folly of dealing with results when causes are within reach. If a clock fails to keep time, we do not meddle with the pointers; we regulate the inside works. So with people; their actions are but indicators, and if the State would prevent irregularities of conduct, it must bestow its energies on the motor-power, character, and in order to be effective this character-work should begin in childhood, the formative period. Even trainers of animals declare the success of their efforts to depend on an early beginning; and Horace Mann speaks in this connection of an "arborist working on stooping and distorted trees, striving with tackle and guy-ropes to undouble their convolutions and to straighten flexures in trunks, whose fibres curled as they grew, . . . when, could he have guided and trained them when they were saplings, he could have shaped them into beauty." Let the State apply this practical wisdom. The means are at her command. She owns the public schools, let her run these institutions in her own interests. Let her develop the essentials of character in their pupils, so that as citizens these shall be her salvation. The mere mention of such a work will be sure to raise

OBJECTIONS.

Bring religion into the schools? Bring in the Bible? Have systems and text-books? This work is not practicable. School hours are already crowded. Moral training is for the home. The trained intellect is sufficient guide. Schools are now accomplishing this work.

As to systems and text-books, there are better methods, let us hope, of reaching the heart of a child; and no one supposes that sectarian religion should be introduced, or any teaching in this line except what can be done on common ground. It is but fair that instruction in the various religious beliefs should be given only by their respective churches, and with means furnished by church revenues. But there is a united belief in the fundamental principles, such as honesty, integrity, love, justice, and the inculcation of these could excite no opposition, neither would it bring up that theme of contention, Bible reading in schools; for the ideas necessary to be enforced, are held in common the world over,—as these

taken from the Persian, Hindoo, and Chinese scriptures — "Justice is the soul of the universe." "Poverty which is through honesty is better than wealth from the treasures of others." "Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sun, not if we enter the depths of the mountains, is there a spot in the whole world where a man might be free from an evil deed." "More lofty than a mountain will be the greatness of that man who controls himself." "Silence for the remainder of thy life is better than speaking falsely." "Feel toward others as you would have others feel toward you." "Bear even when you can retaliate?" "Overcome anger by love." "Are you free from shame in your own apartment, when exposed only to the light of heaven?" These principles have our desideratum, — universal acceptance.

PRACTICABILITY.

In a public school not remote from Boston, the system of discipline made the controlling power to work from within, out. Conscience ruled. All were upon honor. There was individual responsibility. The various restrictions and regulations were settled by the teacher and pupils in council; thus the successful working of the plans became a matter of common interest. Except at recess and at the appointed "two minutes," there was no communication between pupils, even by sign or pencil mark. The "two minutes" came twice in each session, and the hush following the bellstroke which marked their close was instantaneous. By turns some of the older pupils had charge of the bell; and the teacher's watch hung near by, with a programme of the recitations, each of the latter being ended by a bell-stroke. In the teacher's absence the same quiet prevailed. Mark, here, that owing to the teacher's skilful efforts, these pupils were controlled by what Matthew Arnold calls an inward "necessity for righteousness." People speak of the compelling power of badness, seeming not to know that goodness is equally compelling. As a clock whose inner workings are in good order must, of necessity, keep time correctly, so is a man inwardly righteous compelled to righteous conduct. If teachers and parents would but aim at this "inward necessity" rather than at mere outside obedience! Compelled goodness is not good. By wise means a child can be so trained that to him dishonor would be an utter impossibility. For in

every one of these little ones is a divine principle, a germ awaiting unfoldment. If children seem to hate goodness, it is because they are forcibly driven to it. To combat evil by scoldings, by threatenings, by anger, or by that brutal relic of barbarism, blows, is a confession of incapacity. It is meeting badness with badness and these two negatives can never make an affirmative. The *good* shepherd leads, not drives.

In another Massachusetts school there were frequent discussions conducted by the pupils. With well chosen subjects such discussions could be made exceedingly effective in character work. There might be also occasional talks on such trial situations as especially demand fidelity to principle, or in which plausible doubts might arise. Shall not moral problems, as well as mathematical ones, receive attention?

In no work of this kind should the object be made apparent. Says Dr. Worcester on the same subject: "It is wonderful what insight into the nature of the being he has to deal with, what suggestions, what practical hints . . . will come to any one who with this end in view will acquaint himself with these studies."

It must be borne in mind that we are not now considering the practicability of accomplishing this character work under our present school system, but of its being done in schools at all. Our present system expresses the thought of past generations. We are not bound by the limits of that thought. On the contrary it is the duty of every generation to think in advance of the preceding one; otherwise there can be no progression. The question is not shall the system endure; but does it effect in the human being that development of the highest and best which alone can be called education; and, it may be added, which alone can save the State?

One cause of wrong doing is a lack of that kind of truth known as exactness. In all business relations we desire an exactness so exactly exact that never, through self-interest, shall the parallel lines of mine and thine converge and meet, though running ever so close and ever so long. Says Dr. Johnson: "If your child, in relating an incident, say that it happened at one window when it occurred at another, cause the mistake to be corrected. You cannot tell where deviation from the truth will end." Children can be trained to exactness. As one means, relate a simple story, requiring them to repeat it until it be told without one variation from the

exact truth. This differs materially from a lesson recitation, or from memorizing a printed story; for in repeating the incident as heard, there would be a moral quality involved, a personal responsibility.

The success of Fenelon in training the young Duke of Burgundy is matter of history. "But what incessant vigilance," says the historian, "what art, what industry, what skill, what variety in the means adopted, and what delicacy of observation must have concurred to produce such extraordinary alteration in the character of a child, a prince, and an heir to the throne . . . whose unhappy traits of character were . . . more dangerous by being found in combination with very considerable powers of intellect." Chief among the "means adopted" were "Fables, Dialogues, and Narratives," written with a special view to these "unhappy traits." Thus we see that Fenelon reached his pupil chiefly through the heart and the imagination. This working ground, so effectively made use of by novelists in their efforts at progress and reform, gets as yet too small recognition in our systems of education. It is a pity that attempts at reaching character in its formative period should be made through the unwilling intellect, — by precepts, commands, restrictions, reproof, when the more effective way is right at hand. Let a teacher relate to her young class a story illustrating truth, self-sacrifice, honor, fidelity, courage, heroism, and their cheeks will flush, their eyes moisten, and the whole class will be touched as by an electric thrill. With this thrill the heart is reached and a purpose accomplished. We might repeat to a class the Golden Rule, the Ten Commandments, and any number of maxims every day in the week, and their lessons be not half so surely conveyed as by a few simple stories.

Character influences character. Keeping this in view make children familiar with the lives of noble men and women. Feed them with nobleness. Accustom them to a high moral atmosphere, and they will never breathe freely in any other.

It is true that character work of the kinds mentioned will demand a

SPECIAL PREPARATION

on the part of the teacher. Those officially in charge of "education" should give prominence to this matter of character, should call special conventions for its consideration.

It should be the frequent theme of every educational journal and of the press generally, and of the pulpit. And if the wisest men and women of the nation were to bring the whole light of their wisdom to a focus on the point most affecting the nation's welfare, no more important question could be placed under that focus of light than how to prepare teachers for the work of moulding and developing character. For this is a matter which lies behind all reforms, all reformatory institutions, all penal institutions, and all charities. This is working at the very roots of humanity. The true work, the thrifty work, is not to re-form but to right-form; not to supply needs but to prevent needs; not to punish wickedness but to remove its causes; and the test of any system of education—a test which will be applied in the *light ages*—is that it send forth human beings each with an inside force impelling to right conduct, and with all the faculties in full and harmonious development. Such work does indeed require preparation. In the words of Horace Mann: "Each soul has a pinion by which it may soar to the highest empyrean, or swoop downwards to the Tartarean abyss. In the feeblest voice of infancy there is a tone which can be made to pour a sweeter melody into the symphonies of angels, or thunder a harsher discord through the blasphemies of demons. To plume these wings for an upper or nether flight; to lead these voices forth into harmony or dissonance; to woo these to go where they should go, and to be what they should be,—does it, or does it not, my friends, require some knowledge, some anxious forethought, some enlightening preparation?"

Such responsibility should not be placed in the hands of immature girls, who can be hired at cheap rates and are lacking in special preparation and in other requisites. Those in charge of this higher education, heart-education, should possess the highest, broadest, deepest culture; they should be culled from the best. The very choicest spirits among us, the most sympathetic, the sweetest, the wisest, those most excelling in every desirable quality, are needed by the State for the training of its young children. They should be skilled workmen, and they should be worth, and should receive, salaries such as would draw to this work the highest ability.

"A workman," says Mr. Mann, "should understand two things in regard to the subject of his work: first, its nature, properties, qualities, and powers; second, the means of modi-

fyng these with a view to improvement." When and how and where are our character workmen to be trained to their work? The system which will make such training its supreme duty, and the public opinion which will demand such a system, and the general enlightenment which will create such a public opinion are in the dim future.

THE INFLUENCE OF OUR SCHOOLS

is largely for good. Their value is incalculable. If in the direction we are now considering there is room for improvement, it is not our part to denounce them, or to withdraw our children, but to insist on the improvement. Few will deny its need. It is true that the importance of exerting a high moral influence is impressed upon the graduates of our normal schools. But let us ask these, as teachers, do you consider the development of character equally with carrying out the study programme as the work you were hired to do? Did the questions of the examining committee show that they so considered it? Were you instructed in special ways of accomplishing this work? Do not some of your methods of securing order and good scholarship tend to foster propensities in the pupil which we condemn in the citizen? Do you think of the possible effect upon character of your sometimes ill-considered words and acts, caused maybe by sudden stress of circumstances, your (perhaps) ill temper, injustice, petulance, ridicule?

While recognizing the character work already being accomplished in our schools by means of the enthusiasm and devotedness of teachers, let us ask ourselves, are we satisfied with the results? Cannot our educators plan and carry out a work in effectiveness and completeness far beyond the present? Can they not be made to feel, more than they now feel, that the work of saving the country, through the ennobling of the people, is largely their work? A work, it may be added, which denominational schools can never accomplish, and are likely to hinder.

If the plea is urged that

SCHOOLROOMS ARE ALREADY CROWDED

with the ordinary routine of studies, it should be replied that this matter is far above the ordinary. Character is not only the saving but the controlling element of the individual. Whatever he may have of influence, opportunities, talents,

money, capabilities, the uses made of these depend on the kind of person he is, and the State should secure the right kind of citizens; upright, honest, unyielding in integrity, even if the training process leave them in ignorance of — let us say it with reverence — the very equator itself. Yet, a city teacher has declared that she could not take advantage of the incidental moral issues constantly arising in the schoolroom, because the study programme filled every moment. Another said that the sense of what she might do in this direction, were opportunity allowed, weighed heavily upon her.

School hours are already crowded. Well, if the streets are crowded when Royalty passes, "Give place!" is the cry. But it is not Royalty which gives place. The crowd gives place to Royalty. Character is the royal or reigning part of a person. Let the highest in rank have the right of way, and if there is no way, a way must be made.

It is evident enough that, at present, school hours and schoolrooms are so crowded as to allow small chance for additional work, or for the close acquaintance and individual relations between teacher and pupil so necessary to our purpose. These hindrances can be removed by placing very many less pupils in a school, and largely increasing the number of teachers. Should any object to the money cost, let it be asked if the State can better spend its money than in the making of good citizens. The State practically answers that it prefers to spend its money in the punishing of bad ones. A few years ago the statistics were given as one hundred million expended in education; two hundred millions in the punishment of crime. As if some stupid farmer were to spend money scantily for his seed-sowing, reserving plenty for the weed-pulling of by and by. Nay, would advise the wiser culturist, spend freely for grain and let the wholesome plants stand so thickly and strongly as to leave no room for weeds. Let the State devote the larger sum to a schoolroom culture which will ensure the wholesome and sturdy elements of character, and the smaller will be all too large for our deserted jails and almshouses. The same earnest writer previously quoted declares that "all the expenditure for the maintenance of courts, salaries of judges and of prosecuting officers, expense of jurors, grand jurors and witnesses, amount of costs and counsel fees, the

vast outlay for prisons, jails, and houses of correction," is to "adjust mistakes and punish offences, nine tenths of which would have been wholly prevented by a degree of common knowledge easily taught, and of common honesty to which all children with scarcely an exception could be trained." Said a man, who, after spending his life in various prisons, came at last to the gallows, "If they had done as much in educating me as they have in punishing me, I should have come to a very different end." Paupers might make a similar statement, substituting the word "supporting" for "punishing." Could tax-payers but see the shiftlessness and extravagance of dealing directly with pauperism and crime, rather than with their causes, they would demand that strength and nobility of character be secured by well directed efforts in the schoolroom, even if the school tax were trebled thereby.

Many refer to the

STATISTICS OF CRIME

as showing that our criminals come mostly from the uneducated (unschooled) classes. But even were this true, the statistics do not include the wickedness which keeps inside the law, or that which is considered a matter of course. Our corrupt legislators, our fraudulent contractors, dishonest bankrupts, manufacturers of adulterated goods, makers of corners in what is necessary to life, owners and patrons of disreputable houses, — these are not from the ignorant classes, neither are our princely forgers and defaulters. They have plenty of knowledge. But "mere knowledge" as our wise writer says, "is ready to combat either in the ranks of sin or under the banner of righteousness," and "its possessor is only a more splendid as he is a more dangerous barbarian." Statistics deal chiefly with the repulsive and poverty-stricken badness which has no shield of social position, and fail to show up that other kind, far more dangerous to the State, — respectable badness.

Many say that

MORAL TRAINING IS FOR THE HOME.

But in how many of our homes is this duty made paramount? The training of children is declared to be woman's special work, yet few mothers know how to accomplish it, and many do not even know that they do not know. They grope

blindly among the complex mind and heart machinery under their charge, touching a spring here and a spring there with careless and uncertain hand, finding, often too late, that they have undertaken to control the most powerful of created forces, the human will, passions, and propensities, not having the secret of power. Love they have; but love without enlightenment is a mighty force working at random, marring where it would make, destroying where it would save. Whether we consider mothers in the whirl of fashionable life, devoted chiefly to inferior aims; or those lower in the social scale, striving for the greatest amount of comfort or luxury, or gentility, or advantages at the least possible cost, saving coin by care, or those whose lives are given over to grinding toil, everywhere do we find pressure and the hindrance of circumstance, very rarely the requisite leisure, tranquillity, enlightenment, and sense of parental responsibility; and down among the slums of repulsive vice and abject ignorance, surely no moral training can be looked for there.

Now, the children of every rank, those of the respectable classes with their more or less false views of what constitutes superiority, and more or less actuated by worldly ambition; and those of the ignorant and repulsively vicious classes, their worst developed, their best blighted, — all these will in due season rule the State. They will be the State. During the school period they are largely in her power; a few years and she will be in their power. Is it not wisdom, is it not policy, to use her advantage while she has it? Parental training cannot now be relied on for securing a saving kind of citizens; neither can this ever be the case until the young of both sexes shall be educated with some special reference to their parental vocation, — a subject considered in regard to fatherhood in Herbert Spencer's *Treatise on Education*. Allowing that home is the place for that character work so essential to the State's salvation, yet in view of all the thoughtless, careless, foolish, forceless, aimless, ignorant, and injudicious mothers and fathers, and of the abjectly degraded and vicious ones, it must be acknowledged that this home work needs to be supplemented by other endeavors.

THE JUSTICE OF IT.

It is not wisdom only which demands this of the State; justice demands it. If she punishes her subjects for going

astray, justice demands that she set their feet surely in the right paths. But instead of this how does she treat them? At the most impressible period of their lives she gathers them in crowded rooms, and says to her teachers — "I give my embryo citizens into your hands. You are expected to exert a good moral influence over them, as time and opportunities may allow, but they are here mainly to acquire knowledge." Each child has the possibilities of becoming to her a blessing or a curse. She takes little practical care, sure care, that these wavering possibilities incline to the right side, allows scant time, devises few effective methods, leaves the matter largely to chance opportunities.

And now, mark the injustice. When these pupils come to maturity, she requires of them what she has not given. Having trusted her spring planting more or less to chance efforts, she expects and demands a satisfactory harvest. Does she blame herself that it is unsatisfactory? Not at all. Her displeasure is visited upon the wrongdoers. Urged by ambition, or yielding to temptation, they forged names, they raised notes, they appropriated funds, or they fell, drunk, in the gutter. Now, then, is the time when the State begins to take character into consideration. She denounces her erring children, sets her officials on their track, brands them as bad characters. "By what right," may ask these erring ones, "do you thus seize and punish us?" "By the right of ownership; you belong to me." "But if we are yours to punish we were yours to direct. You gave us our preparation for citizenship. It proved insufficient. Who is to blame? By using the right means at the right time, you might have developed in us the nobler traits of character. This was not done. Who is to blame? The schools you bade us attend encouraged rivalry and an ambition to outshine others. These caused our fall. Who is to blame? We obtained high averages; we "passed;" we are swift accountants; we can bound every country on the globe, tell how many were slain in the battles of thousands of years ago, with names of officers on both sides; we know a great deal about grammar and geometry and algebra and about the stars; we are smart; we are quick; but we are not good. Who is to blame? But goodness is now in demand. All those acquirements are considered but side issues, as the State points sternly to her gloomy prison house. And some there are who may say, You knew our homes were the abodes

of vice and crime; that we were children of sin, nurtured in depravity; you knew our evil passions were strong within us, yet took little pains to restrain those passions; we have committed murder. Who is to blame? To this last appeal she answers with her hangman and her gallows.

And thus the State goes on, striving to save herself by means which do not and cannot save still using her resources to maintain a scowling avenger at the end of the wrong path, instead of a smiling guide at the end of the right one. Let us ask her to try some other means. Let us ask her to see that in her schools every child shall be trained in the foundation principles of character, and in the harmonious exercise of all the faculties; and that means be furnished for securing the higher ability requisite for this higher education, together with the necessary time and opportunities, whatever may be the money cost. Let us ask for compulsory school attendance throughout the country so that not one future citizen shall lack this ennobling preparation; also for such extension of the school age that children shall not be cast forth upon the street, or brought under the blighting influences of factories and work-rooms at an age when they should be acquiring useful knowledge and fitting themselves for the duties of life. Let us ask that the wisdom and enlightenment of the whole country hold council to devise a scheme of education grander and more complete than as yet has been scarcely dreamed of,—one that shall make humanity reveal its highest possibilities, physical, mental, spiritual. Let us ask all this in the name not only of common sense and of justice, but as a measure of political economy,—a measure which will tend to free us from pauperism and crime, and, to sum up the whole, as something which we the people must do to be saved.*

* It is objected to extension of school age that impoverished parents need the earnings of their children. A wise and complete education would have hindered this impoverishment. But they were allowed to grow up without such education, so that, instead of adding to the prosperity of the State, they are very likely a burden, perhaps a disgrace. Under the let-alone system their children will grow up under the same conditions, the children of those under the same, and so on, each generation swelling the ranks of the incompetent and the depraved. Surely it is time to make a new beginning. For even on the ground of economy it is better that the State extend present help to needy parents, if by this means their posterity may become to her an element of strength, rather than one of weakness.

OUR UNCHURCHED MILLIONS.

BY THADDEUS B. WAKEMAN.

"The Proper Religion for an American Citizen is the United States of America."—JAMES PARTON before the New York Nineteenth Century Club.

It is not generally recognized, as it should be, that the large majority of our people are unchurched. Not a third of the population of the United States attend public worship, or could be accommodated if they desired so to do—but they do not desire to attend. They have unchurched themselves.*

The churches boast of their growth, but it is a growth left further and further behind by the general increase of population. The time must, therefore, surely come when but a small fraction of the masses of the people will be church-goers, and yet upon these masses the government institutions, character, and welfare of the great Republic must rest.

Whether this state of things will be regrettable; whether a "godless" and "irreligious" people ought to be or not, it is hardly worth while to inquire. It is enough that such will be the immense majority of our people before the close of this century, if the old definitions of "religion" are to prevail, which commonly identify religion with some form of ancient supernaturalism. It may be that the people know what is best, after all, and that the evil consequences, often predicted as the result of the general neglect of the old creeds, may not ensue, but benefits rather. The reason that people do not go to church is, evidently, because there is no

* According to the last census the population of the States is 64,000,000. The New York World Almanac (pp. 154 and 209) gives the total population of United States Jan. 1, 1890 (including Indian and other Territories), as 66,360,525. All denominations CLAIM, according to the N. Y. *Independent*, 21,757,171: but these claims are doubtless excessive; for instance, the Roman Catholics claim 8,277,039, but this claim includes the whole Catholic population, of which a large part have left the church forever. The rate of increase of the secular over the church population is very large—nearly double; but accurate figures are not obtainable.

longer an impelling motive. Something of greater interest and importance takes the place of churches. There is in all this simply an illustration of the great law of evolution and progress, viz.: every disintegrative change comes about, because a new and a higher integration has called away the forces, interests, beliefs, and feelings which sustained the old. When Sinbad's ship sailed by the magnetic mountain, all the iron was drawn out by attraction, and the vessel fell to pieces.

The old arks of the supernatural seem to be drifting into a new world so much more vast, real, true, and *necessary* than the old world in which they were built, that they seem like antediluvian curiosities which it will not pay to repair, and are, therefore, often regretfully left, but *left*, nevertheless, to the natural and disintegrative chemistry of time. In a word, Uncle Sam's people have concluded that it does not pay to go to church, that there is not much necessity for going, and so they go less and less.

There is a general feeling that the old creeds are not surely true; that they have been discredited by the astronomy of Copernicus, by the evolution of Darwin, and by the progress of history beyond the state of things contemplated in the old "revelations." In short, the sky now above us is no longer the old "heaven," but infinite space glowing with countless suns; the space below is the centre of the earth, and no "hell." The earth's surface, with its teeming peoples, is no "state of probation" for the above or the below. The old, three-story tenement-house of heaven, earth, and hell, has vanished forever, and with it the creeds which were simply its description, and the adjustment of human fate here and hereafter to it. Even where the belief in "spiritual" manifestations is retained, the modern variety calls itself spiritualism, or theosophy, and claims harmony with science. The supernatural and miraculous are dropped, and natural immortality of the human soul or consciousness in or about the earth, is substituted. Such a natural evolution of the spirit into another form of life is in itself a powerful disintegration of the beliefs founded upon ancient and miraculous manifestations, and it replaces them. Thus to the modern mind the new, true, and higher integrations of science have silently, and often unconsciously, discredited and replaced the former general belief in the supernatural

religions, and left the masses of the people intellectually outside of the old churches. If we ask, What is the creed which alone satisfies the modern American? the answer is, That which he knows to be true,—and that, in one word, is *Science*. The majority of the American people are already *practically* secularists—people of this world.

If we turn to “the heart,” or the emotional nature of young America, we find similarly, that the “touch which makes the whole world kin,” *the human*, is the touch to which he responds. It is not something which has happened or is going to happen in some other inconceivable, unlocated, ghostly world, but that which affects him and his *now* in this world. That human touch makes it utter folly to try to *feel* that a heaven can be at all, as long as there may be a single *human* being in a hell; and without a hell where is the foundation for a heaven?

The common sense and hearts of the masses therefore say to the priests of the supernatural and the metaphysical,—We are no longer able to understand your dogmas. They do not agree with what we see and experience to be true, nor with what we feel to be human, good, and right. Some of our women, children, and weak or fashionable brethren, may from habit, fear, fashion, or social attractions, or special interests, patronize you for a while, but the great business and realities of this world will go on for the future with less and less regard to your ancient notions about spooks or ghosts, gods or devils, angels or fairies, churches and creeds. Because the census proves all this to be true, shall we say with Schiller’s hero, that the “beautiful race has emigrated,” and lament that the “fair humanities of old religions are gone”? Shall we take refuge in the memories of old superstitions, and like Wordsworth find solace in “Proteus’ changing form,” and “Triton’s wreathed horn”? That depends whether we continue to look backward or turn our faces to the dawn. For, when read from that direction we find that the disintegration of the old by inevitable law, means the integration of the new. Nothing can kill an old religion but the incoming of its greater successor. Our people are unconsciously welcoming the incoming sway of Science and Man; and this is proved by their absence from the churches.

The unchurched millions indicate a growing and healthy

faith in things, and the laws of things, as they are. They find health in Emerson's prescription, that "the cure for false theology is mother-wit." Even the churches cannot escape this influence. The Presbyterians are voting their creed into a new and a humanized shape. Beecher's successor knows nothing of hell. Even Cardinal Gibbons abandons all hope of "coercion;" and the church which cannot enforce the law of its God, lives chiefly to announce His practical abdication in the practical world. Whether this new faith in the actual, real scientific world—or the *true*, and in the present human practical world—or the *good*, shall be called a "religion," is a matter of realization, definition, and taste. The votes of those outside of the churches who seem most entitled to decide, are in favor of the continuance of the use of the old and often hated word, "religion,"—with the explanation, that the religion of the new, natural, real world is the reversal of the old. Thus Thomas Paine in No. Seven of his "Crisis" charges the enemies of America with employing savages in warfare, and thus violating "THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY," and compelling war to the knife. He uses this happy phrase as though a natural and common one; but who used it before him? Auguste Comte, the great positivist philosopher of France, as all know, made this Religion of Humanity, as cast into form by him, the outcome of the grandest elaboration of the sciences and of history ever made. In Germany, David Strauss, following the inspiration of Goethe and Herder, gives us the "religion of the new faith" instead of the old. While Johannes Range, in Germany, had long before organized the "free congregations," to put into practice similar conceptions.

In England "Secularism," as a religion, is the result of a line of free thought that has come down from Hobbes, Hume, Cobbett. It was reformulated by Holyoake, and continued by Watts, Bradlaugh, with the two Mills, Miss Martineau, Lewes, and George Eliot as side sponsors.

In America the attempts to form secular religions and religious societies, churches, ethical societies, etc., have been, and still are, multifarious. It is hardly a year ago that Mr. Charles Watts, the English secularist, formerly of London but of late years the editor of *The Secular Thought* at Toronto, Canada, appealed to Col. R. G. Ingersoll for his view; which appeal resulted in the approval by that arch

freethinker of the use of the word religion with the usual reversal and enlargement of its meaning and a disavowal of all supernaturalism. Thereafter in his famous reply to Dr. Field, the poetical colonel joined the new "church" in far-reaching words which have become the motto of the Boston Ingersoll Society, and which thousands are learning to repeat as a sort of secular confession of faith, thus: —

"I belong to the great church that holds the world in its starlit aisles; that claims the great and good of every race and clime; that finds with joy grains of gold in every creed, and floods with light and love the germs of good in every soul."

The sublime oration of Victor Hugo on Voltaire is filled with similar secular religious sentiments. While in the almost equally grave and more epoch-making oration Prof. Bovio, in consecrating the monument to *Giordano Bruno* at Rome on the 9th of June, 1889, in speaking for the whole world outside of the churches of the supernatural, distinctly makes the new religion the foundation of the new era of man in these memorable words: —

"The nations assembled here are clearly aware that, as the year 313 was fixed by imperial decree in Milan as the era of the Christian religion, so this ninth of June is fixed in Rome, by the consent of free peoples, as the era of the 'Religion of Thought.'

"Is it, then, a religion? And is this its age and this its place?

"This faith has no prophets: it has thinkers. If it seeks a temple it finds the universe: if it seeks an inviolate asylum it finds the conscience of man. It has had its martyrs, it insists from this day on that reparation shall not be post-humous.

"Rome may make this proclamation. Here have been celebrated the millenaries of the successive religions. All the gods of the earth met in the universal Pantheon—here, where law had become universal, and a church bade fair to become Catholic. Here, too, it is now possible to fix the new millenary, which shall replace the Catholicity of one man by the Catholicity of human thought."

"This is the time forecast by Bruno: O Rome, world-wide, universal, to-day thou dost truly reconcile thyself with the

word *Catholic* pronounced not by dogma, but by the concordant thought of the nations!"

The new era thus referred to before assembled thousands by Prof. Bovio, in contrast to the Christian era established at Milan in A. D. 313, is none other than that of the NEW FAITH dating from A. D. 1600, the date of the martyrdom of Bruno, of the publication and public recognition of the Copernican Astronomy, the founding of the East India Company, the first steps towards the settlement of America, and of the founding of International Law by Grotius,—an era which actually gave to mankind a new heaven, a new earth, and a new brotherhood of the race, entirely independent of the old supernaturalism. If the reader receives a letter dated May 15, 290, let him remember that the "290" is instead of 1890, and represents this new era dating from A. D. 1600, as the era of Science and Man; i. e., from the death of Bruno and the recognition of the true solar system, with the attending historical events above noted, which gave the human race the first conception of its own extent, and of its solidarity and continuity.

From the above instances it is quite evident that the new "religion" or "faith" has made its appearance upon a solid, secular, scientific, and human basis; but it is equally clear that it is still in the process of being worked out, and that its era and fundamental conclusions are in actual formation about us. It is due to this fact that the older creeds and faiths are disintegrating. So rapidly is this the case that it is difficult to follow the meanings of the words used in theological controversy, such as, Infidel, Deist, Theist, Atheist, etc. Who of the last generation, for instance, would have understood the article on *Theism* in the last Encyclopædia Britannica, although written by a clergyman?

Take as another instance of thought-change the word "Monism," which has been brought to the front by *The Open Court*, a scientific *religious* weekly published at Chicago, as the last and best name for the new faith or religion. This term, Monism, was adopted by Prof. Hæckel, the well-known German biologist, as avoiding the limitations that seem to inhere in the words Materialism, Positivism, Secularism, Cosmism, etc., which had been previously used as names for this new birth of time. *The Open Court* has gone into the business of spreading the new and scientific solution of the world

under this name, and is throwing a new light over the whole subject. It fights for and applies the new "religion" through the whole range of existence, from star-mist, through the protozoa, and up to MAN, and to the angelic "invisible choir" of the new faith described so grandly in George Elliot's exquisite poem.

We have so far referred only or chiefly to those theoretical and vocal *secularists* who publicly declare their new faith. The fact is, however, that the larger part of the two-thirds of the American people who do not molest the churches are silent but practical secularists; that is, they, in fact and in practice, attend to this world's and their own affairs, and let the affairs of the other world go as they may. Their dissent is practical and even largely unconscious. Very generally no reason in words for their conduct is or could be given. The religion of this world becomes sufficient, and that is of the silent kind. They have no religion to "brag on," and they compromise by letting everyone have his own. They will agree that all sensible people have in substance the same religion; but what that is, it is better never to say. This feeling lay back of Schiller's often-quoted Zenion:—

MEIN GLAUBE.

Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen,
Die du mir nennst. Und warum keine? Aus Religion.

"Of what religion?" Of none you may name.

"Why none?" Because of my religion.

Yet both Goethe and Schiller could talk the new universal religion fast enough when sure of the proper audience. Thus Goethe's play on the word religion is a fine contrast:—

Who science has and art
Also has religion;
Who of them neither has,
Let him have religion!

Wer Wissenschaft und Kunst besitzt,
Hat auch Religion;
Wer jene beiden nicht besitzt,
Der habe Religion.

Here science is faith according to knowledge, and founds life upon what man does or can know instead of what he does not. The art which adds to and supplements nature by the higher nature of human beneficence crowns the

universal religion of man, which the great poets, Shakespeare and Goethe, more than any others have helped to found.

Thus the religion of the churches gradually and generally is silently passing into the Religion of the World and of Man. The old names of religious ideas are either dropped or acquire new meanings. The old church with its anthropomorphic God, heaven, and hells, and creed have become symbols and are to be read with a scientific glossary, somewhat like this.

Instead of the old *personal God*, we find the "Not I," the infinite world or universe; the sum of its laws, activities, and powers, which, when properly heeded, "make for righteousness."

The Christ has become the ideal man, or Humanity, and the historical Jesus vanishes from "definite history" as a person, to reappear as an Ideal of the best in human nature and history.

Heaven is no longer a place in the skies. Even "the firmament" has vanished into infinite space. St. Peter, or his papal successor, still holds the key, but the door is gone! In place of those "mansions" we dream of the heaven on earth, the ideal of the human race and its triumph.

Hell, which was the foundation of the old three-story tenement-house of theology,—hell, earth, and heaven,—has no place in the Copernican Solar System, nor in the modern human heart. The evils and misery of existence, and the remorse, obloquy, and reproach of evil-doing have taken its place. We have now a natural hell and a natural heaven, instead of the old supernatural.

The Holy Spirit flits no more between earth and sky. The only Holy Ghost recognized is the soul of man in communion with the world and its brother soul. Its assured immortality is in the future of the human race. If there is another state of existence, by natural law and all analogy, the only worthy preparation for it is the best and completest life here and now. Calvin was right: The beliefs and wishes of men cannot change the laws of God or of Nature here or hereafter. But by learning, conforming to, and using those laws, may we not, in Bacon's happy phrase, conquer all nature and fate by obedience? Thus man has acquired unbounded confidence and hope of progress. Heaven is

re-located by science not in the *above* but in the *beyond*. Scarcely can an American audience be assembled, but to consult about some political, social, or other matter looking towards this new natural *millennium*. Even the churches have as much or more to say of this heaven than of the old; while the end of this world, and the day of judgment which was to introduce their old heaven, have dropped out of the theological almanac altogether, and nobody believes they will ever come except a few half-demented Millerites.

The reader may continue this glossary at will. We can only note the general result. The sacredness of the old supernatural has happily begun its transition to the new natural world replacing it. Even common things and relations are fast becoming sacred and earnest beyond the old conception. So was it with Goethe and Schiller, so is it becoming to the great exponents of the secular faith of every phase. The new reverence is often silent, but thoughtful and deep. Religion becomes the sense and sum of our relations to the All, to the World, and to Man. The duties imposed by those relations are the highest possible. Health is a personal virtue; the duty of unity with nature. Patriotism the duty of union with our country as a part of humanity, the true country of mankind. The State becomes the true Church. In the words of James Parton, *our* biographer of Voltaire, at the head of this article, the Republic is the grandest church known. The dual existence is at an end. One life with its infinite consequences is enough. Who can meet its requirements? None by dreaming of another.

The welfare of the great Republic as the ideal and leader among civilized nations is the supreme interest of our earthly life. In that the religion of humanity concentrates. Its future is the ideal of the world, the heaven of humanity, to realize which, each generation must provide that a better shall take its place. In this view it is a healthy sign to see how fast the ghostly hells and heavens are dropping out of view. They are believed in not at all, or in an incredible way. For this reason the advanced peoples are full of "reforms" which are the steps towards the earthly, human heaven.

This idea of progress is the great achievement of modern times. It did not exist, as we have it now, among ancient

peoples or during the Middle Ages. It is the inspiration, the life, and the hope of our New World. The law of evolution is its discovery and its formula. The collective human will is the supplement and complement of that law, and by co-operation, acting in harmony with that law, and based upon it, our unchurched millions are taking hold of a new life and hope as much grander than the old, as the known universe of to-day transcends that of Ptolemy.

A MODERN ESAU AND JACOB.

BY REV. T. ERNEST ALLEN.

UPON a bright Sunday afternoon in June, Esau and Jacob Chambers, twin brothers in spirit as well as flesh, were sitting in the library of their home, looking listlessly into such books as attracted them. They seemed to be enjoying that sense of freedom which so many of us experience at such a time, the feeling as of pressure removed, that, to use a mechanical figure, they had been thrown out of gear with the busy world and could soar, fancy free, into the realm of the heavens above or the earth beneath. I do not mean to imply that the burdens of life yet rested heavily upon them. Young men of seventeen, with a comfortable home, good situations and prospects, the ambition of manhood beckoning to them and friends to advance their interests, they had little occasion to feel otherwise than contented with the present and hopeful for the future. The sombre side of life lay in their having lost their father five years before; a great misfortune, truly, for father and mother can each impart to the environment of a child what the other cannot. Then, too, their mother had been an invalid since they were eight years old. Notwithstanding these serious drawbacks, they were, in the main, manly, noble, and in every way promising boys.

Jacob was employed in the Chambers Bank of Boston, of which his paternal uncle, William Chambers, was president and chief stockholder. The favor with which he knew himself to be regarded, furnished a substantial foundation for his dreams of promotion, which, nevertheless, he felt both competent and determined to win for himself. Esau was doing well in the counting room of his father's best friend, Benjamin Seaver, and looked not for rapid advancement, but to a thorough comprehension of every department of mercantile business as the sure method of attaining an enduring success.

The father had been a merchant, respected for his integrity by all who knew him, at one time wealthy, but so reduced by

reverses as to leave his family but a moderate competency. The Presbyterian Church had been the major part of everything to him. His acceptance of the Westminster Confession was so complete and sympathetic, and he had so long and carefully studied and reflected upon it, that, in any german matter, one might almost infallibly rely upon his opinion being coincident with what the most logical Scottish theologian would propound after critical comparison with that venerated symbol of faith. Indeed, so commonly recognized was this characteristic, that an acquaintance declared him to be an incarnation of the whole Westminster Assembly, and all wondered how he could live outside of the pulpit. But he did and thrived; only, however, by closely identifying himself with his church, reading much from the works of John Calvin and associating intimately with his pastor. The latter, if doctrinally sound and strenuous, was always his delight; but woe betide the luckless minister of latitudinarian tendencies, who came within range of his keen and relentless doctrinal probe, for such an one was certain to be cited before the presbytery for heresy. His wife, the daughter of a clergyman, had but little interest in the subtleties of theology. She was willing to follow her husband in such matters and never opposed his views.

But to return to the young men in the library. After a silence of half an hour, in which both seemed lost in reverie, Jacob arose from his chair and going to an old secretary in the corner, a family heirloom, opened the large top drawer, which by letting down the front formed a desk, and began rummaging aimlessly among the papers contained in the pigeon-holes and small inner drawers. He could not have told why he did this; perhaps because when a child he had wanted to explore all of its contents and had not been permitted to do so. Perhaps a remembrance of this had flitted through his mind in his reverie and had prompted him to the act; for surely, there could now be no objection to his satisfying his curiosity, when all it contained must eventually become the property of his brother and himself! He slowly examined the many papers, consisting of expired contracts, insurance policies, statements of business for years long past and old letters. At last he came upon a small diary.

"Diary for the year 18—," he read on the title-page. "Why that is the year Esau and I were born; I wonder what

father wrote at the time of that event?" He turned over its leaves to March 10, and read: "My first children were born at six o'clock this morning: I say children, for there are two of them, two fine boys. I am all aflame with ambition for them, that they may become noble, God-fearing, Christian men and not be led away by the infidelity which is so common in our age." "Esau," he said, "here is an entry made by father in his diary the day that we were born; listen," and he read it to him. "Let's see if he says anything more about us."

"March 11. I had a terrible vision last night which makes me shudder every time I think of it, and I have done nothing but think of it from the time it occurred. An angel appeared to me and said: "Two male children have been born to thee; thou shalt call them Esau and Jacob; the first-born shall enter into the eternal bliss of the elect; his brother shall be damned. I am Gabriel." He said not another word. I stretched forth my hands in an agonized appeal that he would explain further or tell me that he had only spoken to try my faith; but he heeded me not and immediately disappeared. How vivid and real it all was! I was wide awake; it could not have been over five minutes after the clock in the steeple of St. George's struck two. To confirm my impressions, I at once threw over a heavy chair and heard it strike the floor; then I got up, struck a match and looked at my watch. It was ten minutes past two. I locked the door into the hall and left the chair on the floor to witness to me in the morning the reality of what had happened. But this was useless; I did not close my eyes again that night. I went through the scene in my mind repeatedly; recalled every lineament of his face, every fold of his garment, every inflection of voice. While the vision lasted, he was so palpable that I have not been able to believe otherwise than that, had I put forth my hand, I could have touched him. And that voice! stern, measured, authoritative; striking terror to my heart and forcing upon me the conviction that from that judgment there could be no appeal. Is there no appeal? I must think and pray and get some relief from the intense strain of the last twenty-one hours. Whatever decision I arrive at, however much suffering I may be called upon to bear, I shall tell no mortal what I have experienced: not my boys when they are older, it would shadow their lives; not their mother, it would impose a great sorrow and could do no possible good.'"

"Well," said Jacob, "that is an agreeable outlook for a young man. Father may have been deeply moved by the vision immediately after it happened; but surely, this horrible experience could not have made a lasting impression upon him; he must have felt differently about it after a few days."

"Horrible, indeed," said Esau; "he must have felt differently about it, or else have gone wild. One of his children to be damned! What a consoling thought for a parent! Look further, perhaps there is something more about it."

Jacob turned over page after page, scanning each carefully to see if he could find anything, and read: "'Sept. 2. That dreadful vision still haunts me. I have thought and thought; sometimes I have feared that I should go distracted. I weigh fifteen pounds less than usual, and my wife has said to me repeatedly, 'George, what is the matter with you? You don't look like yourself. You are thin, and seem troubled all the time.' I have had a hard time to satisfy her without divulging my secret; but she shall never know it, even if it kill me or send me to the insane asylum. Never for one moment, have I been able to doubt the reality of the vision. Then, I have asked myself a thousand times, was it the angel Gabriel after all? And every time, no matter how hard I tried to persuade myself that it was not, that some supernatural being was trying to impose upon me, that face and voice have risen before me, instantly sweeping away all my reasonings in the one bitter and overwhelming conviction that it was Gabriel. And if Gabriel, then it necessarily follows that he spoke the truth, and that the name of my precious boy, Jacob, is not written in the Lamb's Book of Life."

"Then I have read over my confession of faith, time and time again, to see if I could glean the slightest hope from that, to see if, after all, it meant what I believe it does, and always I have laid aside the book with the thought, my poor boy is doomed. Here are the sentences, word for word; I need no book to write, they are burned into my memory.'" Then followed this *verbatim* quotation from the Westminster Confession:—

"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestined unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. These

angles and men, thus predestined and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished. Those of mankind that are predestined unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to His eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of His will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of His mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving Him thereunto; and all to the praise of His glorious grace. . . . The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth, for the glory of His sovereign power over His creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.

“Others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men, not professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may is very pernicious, and to be detested.”

Here the passage ended, and he continued: “I have looked the confession through and through to find any means by which my son could escape; but every exit has been closed and sealed. Not faith, not good works, not the most moral life can save one of the non-elect from damnation; while, on the other hand, not the greatest crimes, cruelties, immoralities can prevent one of the elect from entering into eternal bliss. My poor boy is doomed! Doomed! What a terrible word that is, and what a different meaning it now has for me! Formerly, I saw in it only a fitting expression of God’s sovereignty and justice; but now, when I know that my son has fallen under condemnation, how differently I feel. My God! why was I not spared this knowledge. I might have gone through life content, happy, not asking concerning the ultimate destiny of the members of my family and of my

friends; living in hope and trust that all would be well with them, even if I ever seriously asked myself the question at all. But now, with hope all gone, I am prostrate in utter misery. What has my boy done that this horrible fate should await him? Nothing; he is only an innocent babe, looking up into my face with great wondering eyes, filling his little fists with my whiskers and plunging daggers into my heart when I think of the future. Where is that God who once filled my heart so completely? Where is the God of love? Where — ” Here the writing ended abruptly, and the page was stained with tears, showing that he was too overcome by his emotions to longer formulate and express coherent thought.

“Poor, poor father,” said Esau, with the tears running down his face, “how he must have suffered”; while Jacob had with difficulty choked back the sobs which had almost stopped his reading.

“What a hateful thing this old religion is anyway,” replied Jacob, “that people should have to suffer so! What did father ever do that he should be treated so, and what have I done that I should be damned?”

“Jacob! what would mother say,” expostulated Esau, “if she should hear you talk so?” But his brother was too lost in a flood of tears to reply. After a time feeling spent itself and curiosity prompted Esau to take up the diary to look further. He read:—

“Sept. 4. The crisis is past. The fires of hell raged about me the other night. May God forgive the rebellion I felt after I stopped writing! It seemed to me that I could do nothing but blaspheme His holy name and die. I even questioned whether those writers, some infidels and others arrogating to themselves the name Christian, some of them, it must be confessed, good men, judged by the world’s standard,—whether those who claim the God of Calvin and the Westminster divines to be an immoral monster might not be right; whether Jesus exemplified and taught such a God; whether a man is any better off in the hands of such a “loving Father” than when possessed by a belief in the fatalism of the Mohammedans. Satan even whispered to me, that perhaps I was worse than those I have always called infidels, because they did not accept the God of Calvin; that perhaps I was blaspheming God by thinking of Him as so limiting His

love to a part of His children ; that to so foreordain any of His creatures to absolutely eternal wrath and wickedness, necessarily made God, in the last analysis, the Creator of eternal evil and, therefore, not an infinitely good God ; but one partly good and partly evil. What am I writing ! Satan must, indeed, have been trying to seduce me from saving faith. But I put the wicked thoughts aside, knowing that I had been treading close upon the edge of the pit.

"The next morning I determined to force my mind to a settlement of the problem presented by the vision and to hold to it ever afterwards. Office and home were intolerable to me ; I went to a hotel, locked myself in a room for two days and a night, and agonized. I feel better, not because I have lifted the wall of adamant which seemed to be pressing upon me ; but because something has given way. I am no longer rebellious ; but virtue has passed out of me. I have submitted to the will of God ; but in some inexplicable manner it seems to be at the expense of my manhood. I feel broken, that the sense of power in which I once rejoiced is all gone."

Here the account ended and nothing more could be found. The brothers, overcome with anguish, gazed into each other's eyes and were silent. At length Jacob said :—

"I have been wondering if father really did lose his power as he said."

"Yes," replied Esau ; "about a year after father died, I heard Uncle William talking to mother, and he said that he had never been able to account for the way in which father seemed to lose interest and ability in business, some six or eight months after we were born ; that he never was himself again ; and that had he been, he would not have lost so much of his property. So, you see, he kept his secret to the last." A few minutes later Esau startled his companion with the question : "What are you going to do, Jacob?"

"I don't know," he answered, "I'll take the diary and think it all over and tell you next Sunday. In the meantime and always, we will keep the secret as faithfully as father did."

"Yes," assented Esau, "we will never, under any circumstances, mention it to any one."

The following Sunday they met in the library. "Well, Jacob?" said Esau, in an inquiring tone of voice.

"I have decided," replied the condemned one, in measured

tones—"I have decided to follow my own inclinations in life, to eat, drink, and be merry. To the world, I shall be respectable and a gentleman—I have no patience with boors—but, in private life, my desires shall be my guide, and as there is nothing but misery for me in the next world, I shall try to get all the enjoyment I can out of this."

Esau sighed. "I cannot blame or argue against you," he responded, "but somehow I feel that you are all wrong and that even in this world, you would experience more true happiness by living a moral, than an immoral life."

"I thought of that repeatedly during the past week," answered Jacob, "and had almost decided at one time to pursue that course; but, like the robber kitten I finally determined to never more be good."

"Yes," quoth Esau, "and like the robber kitten, to come to grief; but I am powerless to oppose you. Your state of mind is a reaction against a hard theology and a hard fate. For myself, since I am one of the elect, I might do just as you propose without losing my inheritance in the kingdom of heaven; but both to do the will of God, who has been so gracious to me and because, independently, I think it the happier life to do right even with damnation or annihilation as the end, I shall do as near right as I can. But whatever your lot, my dear brother, you will always have my love and sympathy. I know you as well as I do myself. I know that but for the unfortunate discovery of that diary, you would have been as good a man as I."

"My mind is made up," said Jacob, "for better or for worse, the die is cast."

At the age of twenty-five Esau went to Chicago with a few thousand dollars, a thorough knowledge of business, and in the opinion of Mr. Seaver, the ability to succeed and to win an honorable place in the mercantile world. Forty found him wealthy and well known as a religious, public-spirited, and philanthropic man, in a beautiful home with a growing family and one of the most enviable of men.

Jacob never married. "I'm bad, I know," he said, "but not bad enough to raise up children either to damnation or the possibility of damnation. Then, too, I don't wish to be bothered with a family." He lived in bachelor apartments, frequented the clubs and theatres, played cards and billiards, drank wine and associated with a fast set. Faust was his

hero and his fate was as mocking and as suggestive and stimulating to new *diablerie* as Mephistopheles himself.

One morning, about this time, Esau took up his morning paper and the first heading that caught his eye, was, "Big defalcation in Boston. \$300,000 gone." He trembled and dreaded to read further, feeling almost certain that he should find his brother named as the criminal. Sure enough, the next heading read, "Jacob Chambers, cashier of the Chambers Bank, the defaulter." The account stated briefly that the paying teller, upon going to his cash box in the vault the day before, Monday, had found all the bills gone, that the cashier did not appear at a quarter before ten as was his invariable habit, that a hasty examination of the cash and securities showed the bank a loser by about \$300,000. Later in the day a Pullman porter recognized Mr. Chambers' photograph as that of a man who left Boston with him, accompanied by a lady, upon the previous Saturday evening. His destination was Montreal. Esau groaned. "Well, I can't help it," he said. "At one time I feared that it might all end this way; but when I found how punctual and conscientious he was in the discharge of all his duties, I had come to hope that it might be otherwise. What a fearful curse that knowledge has proved!"

The excitement soon subsided; the bank could recover nothing and Jacob lived in luxury and flaunted his infamy in the face of Montreal with impunity. His paramour died a year after under suspicious circumstances; but no investigation was made by the authorities and whatever gossip there may have been was soon buried under the fresh deposits of crime and scandal which are ever being made upon the minds of the people. Esau heard from him rarely and then scarcely more than a statement that he was alive, in fair health and getting as much out of life as he knew how.

Both brothers died when between fifty-five and sixty, Esau first. Jacob found his father and brother waiting for him in the world of spirits. The greeting of the virtuous pair was affectionate and hearty, though perceptibly dampened, perhaps, by their knowledge of his sin. Yet, both knew that in spite of his wickedness, there lay beneath a goodly nature; his sins, manifold and grievous as they were, seemed a veneer which one could easily peel off, or a hideous and ill-fitting mask which he might cast aside at any moment. And the father,

chastened by long suffering, thought: "Is not this the same with all human beings; did not God make them all; are they not all His children; must there not necessarily be an admixture of pure gold betraying divine origin, which will ultimately free itself from dross and shine forth in its native purity and beauty?" Then his Calvinistic thinking returned in a flood: he sighed and thought, "He is doomed."

"Father," said Jacob, "have you seen Gabriel yet? Have you examined the Book of Life to find out whether your vision was correct or not?"

"No, my son," he responded, "but we will all go together now and find out the truth." They went to the place where the Book was kept. As they drew near, the father grasped Jacob's arm. "See," he said, "Gabriel, the face I saw in my vision; it was true, too true."

The angel readily granted their request, opened the Book to the record of the Chambers family and read: "George Chambers, Julia Chambers, Jacob Chambers."

"You mean Esau Chambers, not Jacob," said the father.

"No, it is Jacob, look for yourself."

The father gazed in amazement. He could scarcely believe his eyes; but there it was, written in letters of gold. "But, but," he cried, "you said 'the first-born shall enter into the eternal bliss of the elect,' and Esau was the first-born."

"So you think," replied Gabriel, "but the children were exchanged in their cradles when a few days old, so that the first-born finally received the name Jacob and his younger brother Esau."

"What," almost shrieked the father, "do you tell me that Jacob is the one to be saved! He is my son, and I have watched over and loved him in spite of his sins; but he is a thief, an adulterer, a poisoner. His sins have made him scarlet, and do you tell me that he is to be saved and my son Esau damned — Esau who has lived as good and as spotless a life as any man of his time? No, no, it cannot be. Erase Jacob and write Esau. By years of suffering which carried me to my grave before my time, I have become as nearly reconciled as I ever can be to having one of my sons cast into the abyss; but surely you cannot justly spare Jacob and send Esau!"

"What is written is written; who questions the justice of God?" said Gabriel, with a majestic wave of his arm.

"But —" began the old man, and then a glance from the angel deprived him of speech. After a few minutes of inward conflict, he bowed submissively and retired. "O my sons!" he pathetically exclaimed, "after all my weary years of suffering to have this complication arise; woe is me, woe is me!" A painful silence followed, and then the father continued, "I will leave you for a while and seek composure."

"Poor father," said Jacob, after watching his diminishing form, "it will take a goodly measure of the bliss of heaven to compensate for the hell that vision has been to him."

"It will," responded Esau.

There was a pause; their minds flew back to the astounding revelation which was destined to so reverse their positions throughout eternity. "I am dazed," said Jacob. "I know not what to say. I expected no other fate than hell, and you had been assured of your salvation. Were I to speak to you, Esau, in the cynical spirit of my last years upon earth, I should say, it is better so, that you had become more resigned to the will of God than I, that you can submit more graciously to being damned for His glory than can I."

"And I," replied Esau, "in the same spirit, might retort, You have stolen my birthright and I have never received even the mess of pottage."

"But," resumed Jacob, "my mind goes back to our boyhood days, to those dear unclouded hours before the curse had fallen upon us, when we were everything to each other that earth-born brothers could be, and my heart almost leaps from my breast to lose itself in yours as drop of mercury in a neighbor drop. It cannot be, it shall not be; the decree which shuts you from heaven shall determine my fate, come it from whatever source it may." The spiritual exaltation from which he spoke these words and his radiance of countenance died away, leaving him calm and resolute. He kissed his brother tenderly, then held out his hand and said, "Come, let us go and face our destinies like men, trusting in the God of love whose children we are, never separating until His love assuredly shines round about us and in our hearts."

"Yes," replied Esau, taking his hand, "we will go."

THE VENGEANCE OF DESPAIR.

BY ELIZABETH CARTER GROVER.

BEWARE the hands that beg in supplication now;
Their time will come, and then God help us! God help all
Who through their years of plenty paid not all they owed
To Want. Want's hands are pale and thin; but there's a force
That's stronger far than flesh and blood — it is a pow'r
That's slow to concentrate; but crushed, it strengthens as
It grows, and hardens through long years of pressure — years
Of cold, and sweat, and hunger — years of children's tears!
And when its time is come, Pity will not be near,
Nor Fear, but set hard lips whence tremblings have all fled,
And eyes in whose dry depths the light of hope is dead.
Ay, cruel as the tiger's claw from out the lair
Is hopeless hate! Beware the vengeance of despair!

NOTES ON LIVING PROBLEMS OF THE HOUR.

TRUSTS.

TRUSTS are the trade unions of capital. They are organized to kill competition. Once it was said, "Competition is the life of trade." This is an erroneous statement of a fact. It should have been "Competition makes trade lively." So stoning the cat makes the cat lively,—for a time. Ultimately it ruins the weaker of the competitors, whose businesses are swallowed up by a few with large capital, who can live well on a three-per-cent. dividend on their capital, where the men with small means would starve on 6 per cent. Hence bankruptcies are now more common and less dishonorable.

The trust does for capital what the trade union does for labor, in so far as it prevents competition. That is the object for which both are organized. The trade union seeks to control the labor market, by limiting the number of laborers through apprenticeship laws, and by getting all working at any certain industry to join the union, to raise wages by a threatened corner in the labor needed in that trade, or an actual strike. When the union fixes a standard or a minimum rate of wages, it does it to prevent a competition among the laborers, which unchecked, would have the effect of reducing wages to the lowest sum necessary to support the life of the individual and his family. In some occupations where no labor organization exists, wages have been reduced to such a point as will not permit the raising of a family, marriage decreases, and immorality increases. Trusts are the zymotic or "filth" diseases of our present method of production. Anti-trust laws are useless, yes, worse than useless. They will be used against the poor labor organizations while the rich trust evades the law. Such laws are like a doctor treating a patient with the measles, by painting over the spots instead of removing the causes. The causes are inherent in our present system, and the effects were predicted by a certain school of sociologists forty years ago.

As long as one individual has a right to buy and sell those things which are necessary to sustain the life of his brother man, any number of men have that right. Any number of men having that right, also have the right, under our present system, to combine for the same purpose and carry on the same business.

They may appoint an agent who may or may not be president of the trust. The trust has its history of evolution. First, the individual buying and selling; then the partnership, first of two, then three, four, and five, as there may be departments to supervise. Then comes the corporation which marks a distinct advance. Those who would be partners under the old arrangement of partnerships are now only superintendents and foremen.

The corporation never had a soul and has begun to hire its brains. Corporations begin to swallow up partnerships and other small corporations, until only a few corporations of large capital are left. They virtually say: "We have eaten up the little fish and being now of the same size it would be hard work to swallow each other. Let's combine. We'll form a trust, capitalize it for double what all our plants are worth and make the public, by high prices, pay a big dividend on the wind in our capital stock as well as on the stock itself."

Tariff has nothing to do with the formation of trusts. Trusts exist in free trade England and in protected France. Copper produced in America is sold cheaper by the trust in protected Germany than it is in the United States. The flour trust sends flour to England and after paying the freight, sells it cheaper than it can be bought in Boston. The more fully to prove the absurdity of the talk that the tariff produces trusts, it is only necessary to instance international trusts that control contemporaneously, certain commodities in all and each of the so-called civilized countries of the globe.

The word "trust" as now used, means an organization of capital that controls the production and distribution of any one certain product. In order to be successful it must control both the production and distribution. Some begin by controlling the production and from that controlling the distribution. This is the more modern way. The Standard Oil Trust in the early days of trusts was obliged to work the other way. It controlled distribution by getting rebates from the railroads, and by crushing out competitors, secured control of production. This is perhaps the most roundabout method, but the surest. Those who only control production are liable to find competitors starting in with large capital, when their profits are large and idle capital is plenty.

This brings the reader close to one of the secondary causes of trusts. The avenues of distribution are the great railroads of the country. They made the Standard Oil and other trusts. Originally built, in great part, by the people through their town, city, State and national governments by grants of land, bonds issued or taken by these governments and other forms of State aid, the people have been deprived of their interest in them

through financial finesse. Although the people's control over them has slipped away, a title in equity still remains. It is time to reassert this right. The people should demand that they should be nationalized. If the people's money was good enough to build them, the people's representatives are good enough to manage them. The railroads once nationalized, one of the strongest buttresses of trusts would be removed.

The cause of trusts is the necessary death of economic competition. That phase of competition which can best be described as emulation will always live. Two centuries ago the artisan owned his own tools. The machine is only a combination of tools. The worker now has only his bare hands and his intelligence, the latter increasing every year under compulsory education. With the evolution of the tool into the combination of tools has come the increase of capital. The processes of industry are more and more dependent on machinery. Highly specialized machinery replaces the old and more primitive combinations of tools. With the increase of production or wealth incident on its use, comes the ability to set aside more of that wealth as capital for the production of more wealth.

Those who work are now dependent for employment on those who own the tools, machinery. They are compelled to work to live. In order to be allowed to work they must allow the owner of the machinery to take of their product all that he wishes, it being a well understood fact that he must leave enough for them in the shape of wages to allow them to exist. Strikes will be more and more unsuccessful.

Capital is unpaid wages, to be euphemistic. This is now clearly seen in the trust. The old theory of a big profit being the due reward of superior ability on the part of the capitalist, is now exploded. The trust hires its ability in the shape of managers, superintendents, etc. The capitalist, in many cases, lives in some foreign country and only puts in his money. That is all. The old notion of the "rent of superior ability" is thus shown to be fallacious as soon as the two functions of possessing capital and handling capital are dissevered.

It is thus seen that it is the ownership and control of the machine or tools that permits the formation of trusts. To recapitulate :

1. The machine permits its owner to compel those who work on it, to pay him tribute in the shape of unpaid wages.
2. These unpaid wages or profits make capital.
3. This capital enters one of two states; (a) fixed, in more costly machinery, or (b) mobile, in the shape of money in the pockets or banks of the owners of the machine.
4. Those having large capital swallow up their competitors

with small capital, either crushing them out in competition by (a) or buying them out through (b).

5. Those few who are left combine and form the trust.

Through all the various trusts the story is the same. Sugar, lead, copper, coal, tin, gold, silver, flour, bagging, twine, oil, beef, pork, and all through the list of the one hundred and twenty trust industries the story is the same. There is no need to recite the name of these industries at length. Every day new ones are being publicly or secretly trustified. The one essential feature is the control of the machine of production or distribution. In some cases the element of land ownership may enter, as in the matter of different kinds of mines, but even there large capital crystallized in the machines, forms the effective weapon to kill competition and form the trust.

The two trade unions of capital and labor now stand facing each other. The trust and the national trade union of labor will soon be pitted against each other, the middle class being swept away into the ranks of the wage workers or while nominally independent, still dependent on the few controllers of the trust, in one form or another. Bonanza farms have fixed the farmers as dependents and tribute-payers of interest on mortgages. The trade union is composed of men of intelligence, compulsory education being at work, which intelligence is reinforced by that of the former members of the middle class. The trust is managed by one man of salary, large or small, it makes no difference. Its responsible and component parts are probably residents of a foreign country. The members of the labor organization are citizens and, with their fellows, control the making of laws in this country. A new party arises and elects representatives who enact laws escheating all "trustified" production. Off goes the head of the trust! He becomes the agent of the people, as the director of that special department of the government, at the same salary as before during transition times. He is responsible now to the people of this country instead of irresponsible money-lords in England.

The remedy for trusts is thus seen to be the control of the machine by the whole people, giving more particularly those who work on them, an interest in the management. To society at large the invention of the machine is due. To society at large must and will come the benefits.

CYRUS FIELD WILLARD.

THE GREAT POLITICAL UPHEAVAL AT THE SOUTH.

OVERWHELMING majorities create mediocrity in the statesmanship of a commonwealth. They engender a spirit of apathy among the electors who, unmindful of being confronted by other

dangers, in time, pay little heed to affairs of party or state, permitting the chosen servants of the people to pursue their own policies without supervision or restraint. In a State where one set of party managers have held the reins of power through many terms of office, there will be found, with rarest exception, the lilliputians of the party occupying the most responsible positions in the gift of the people, who are often by their own inactivity, powerless to counteract the influence of the political machine.

With the ascendancy of the small man in office, comes the quickening taint of corruption. Insidious and cautious at first, then bold and brazen, and at last reckless and defiant. Such a state of affairs must inevitably produce discontent among any people who keenly value the priceless boon of liberty. A murmur of dissatisfaction will arise, and as the iniquity grows in volume, the mutterings will become intensified into an unmistakable evidence of popular disapprobation. The grumble will be that of the mob at the outset, void of order and organization, but as the cloud darkens, Napoleons arise who assert heaven-lent leadership, and the opposition takes form and life, discipline and force. All popular upheavals, political or otherwise, have had their inception in this way, and the historian stands ready to corroborate the declaration.

When the southern soldiers marched home from Appomattox, after the surrender of General Lee, those chieftains who had won the greatest renown for their valor became the civic leaders of the people. Their dispassionate wisdom and sagacious executive faculty bridged the southern States over the perils of the reconstruction period. With the gradual disappearance of danger, a sense of relaxation took place, and the old veterans, feeling the weight of years, began to retire to the less tumultuous scenes of private life, surrendering the affairs of state and control of party to the younger leaders. Year after year, the war record ceased to have that potent factorage in winning emoluments of office. Untried men in many instances were elected to high positions; retrenchment found fewer advocates; extravagance, insidious-like, began to creep in, and corruption became revealed at intervals here and there. The great mass of voters who constituted the majority of the people, by years of indifference to primary deliberations of party, had lost their grasp on party machinery, and were powerless to assert their real preferences as to who should hold their highest positions. In one or more States of the South this arraignment will be called severe, but with the rest it is only outlining the situation in the mildest language.

South Carolina, however much some may rise up to indignantly deny it, affords a striking example of this condition. On the 5th of November, 1876, that State was convulsed with a desperate

political struggle which supplanted carpet-bag and negro rule, and restored to power "representatives of the intelligence and property of the State," that war and reconstruction had previously overthrown. After the smoke of this political struggle had cleared away, it was found that an adroit set of politicians were in possession of the State government. Nominated more to keep party organization in tack than with any expectation of election, they were surprised at their triumph. With the natural instinct of politicians, they lost no time in fortifying themselves, in order that they might continue to enjoy, uninterrupted, the unanticipated emoluments of their position. As the first step toward political fortification, they rallied around the central figure in that memorable contest, General Wade Hampton, then the newly created chief executive, who had succeeded Governor Chamberlain, the last of the reconstruction governors in South Carolina. Under the shadow of the new governor's name, the members of his council were making their political stronghold impregnable for their own good selves, and the faithful few who basked in their favor. At the next turn of the party kaleidoscope, Governor Hampton was made United States Senator. Lieutenant-Governor Simpson was given the highest place on the supreme court bench of the State, while Controller-General Johnson Hagood simultaneously stepped up higher, to the seat just vacated by Governor Hampton.

Before this, it had become apparent to the people of South Carolina that a sort of political trust had been formed among the party leaders, and in 1880, General Gary, one of the best men in the State, headed a movement to displace the strongly entrenched incumbents at the capital.

The latter held a consultation at Columbia, and plans for protection were decided upon. Governor Hampton was to declare war upon General Gary. Under cover of this political subterfuge, the power of the state-house party was evoked, and while General Gary and his friends were canvassing for the usual State convention, in August, the June convention to select delegates to the National Democratic Convention was utilized, and Controller-General Hagood was nominated for governor, and the entire State ticket put out before the people had time to voice their disapproval. There was no alternative but to submit to the few, and, under the crack of the party whip, they cast their ballots for the nominees of the August convention, who were, of course, elected. In due time, another segment of that charmed circle attained unto the governorship, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, Hugh Thompson, followed in the footsteps of his brethren of the council. Still another member of that fortunate '76 cabinet was put forward to taste the gubernatorial sweets,

and State Treasurer Richardson, who still occupies the governor's seat, having been given a second term, was made governor.

The long continuance in power of a single set of men, in South Carolina, has, in large measure, been due to the indifference of the people to their political duties. Senator Butler is authority for the statement that twenty per cent. of the Democratic vote elected seven Congressmen in 1886 and it has been charged in Charleston, that most of this twenty per cent. was obtained by writing in the names of absentees, and putting in a number of votes to correspond.

The democratic policy of rotation has not been adhered to, by adherents of that political faith, in South Carolina, and to a greater or less extent, this has been the case with every other Southern State, since 1876. The status of affairs in South Carolina has been such as to awaken the people to the importance of rising in their might and majesty and instituting a new and better condition. The farmers of the State, through the potency of oath-bound organization, have taken the initiative, and have waged a furious war against the faction in power, that is sure to result in its humiliating dethronement.

This new political movement in the South is not confined to lower California. It is sweeping its way with resistless force, in North Carolina, where several Farmers' Alliance candidates have already been nominated for Congress, and where the strength of the movement is yet underestimated. In Tennessee, the Democratic party has been compelled to choose its nominee for governor, from the membership of the Farmers' Alliance. In Georgia, the power of the movement is so great, that there is not the vestige of opposition to the candidate for governor, advocated by the Farmers' Alliance. In Alabama, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Mississippi, the movement is making itself distinctly felt, and in Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia, it has the work of organization well under way.

Practically, the same influences everywhere have created this movement, and given it momentum, but in some States of the South, the causes that have brought it into being have not been so aggravated as they have been in South Carolina, where extraordinary political methods have ever been in vogue.

Mr. Blaine is credited with having lately offered the advice to the Republican party leaders, to drop the force bill, and assiduously cultivate the Farmers' Alliance. Discerning politician! wise soothsayer! No American is more fully capable of estimating the political strength of the agricultural masses, when thoroughly organized, than Mr. Blaine. Ambitious for his party's future, perhaps his own, he looks longingly at this rapid accumulation of class potency, and yearns to converge it toward his own

party. Idle thought, hopeless impossibility! Speaking only so far as concerns the South, the Republican party can extract little comfort from the progress and result of this great upheaval in southern politics. The upheaval has been a purging of Democratic impurities, and up to date, there has been no evidence that the new movement was other than a movement strictly within the lines of the Democratic party. To be a farmer in the South, has always been to be a Democrat, and the time is approaching when to be a farmer in any part of the country, is to be a member of that same party.

EDWARD A. OLDHAM.

NORFOLK, VA.

THE RACE PROBLEM. A CRITICISM OF SENATOR HAMPTON'S PAPER.

1. ALL those who will read history carefully, will learn that it was a *necessity*, and not a mere party caprice, that gave the negro the right of suffrage. When the war was over, legislation was so shaped in the Southern States as to re-enslave the emancipated race. For instance, laws were enacted, making "vagrancy" punishable by heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment, and under these laws, thousands of freedmen who, in the very nature of things, had not yet found employment, and for whom, in fact, there was no employment, were arrested, fined, and imprisoned, and under the "contract system," placed on plantations to work out their term of imprisonment and fine. This was simply a second slavery, — a slavery worse than that just escaped. What remedy could there be for such wholesale violation of rights? What remedy had these men in the courts of the South? Who was there to take their cases, and make active defence? Who was to appeal for relief, and what courts were they to appeal to? Where was the court with sufficient "running capacity" to decide all these cases, even if they could have been taken up? And then again, who were the judges of these courts, *and who composed the jury?* Under the then existing provisions of the constitution, the Federal Government could not interfere. If the proclamation of emancipation and the 13th Amendment were to be carried out in spirit and in letter, there was but one solution of the question thus presented, and that was to give the victim of these unjust laws an opportunity to become the legislator, and himself *repeal them*. In the face of these facts, it is as futile to say that the giving of the right of suffrage to the negro was a mere partisan measure, as it is to say that the Republican party is responsible for the enactment of our emigration and naturalization laws.

2. It seems to be taken for granted by some, that it has been demonstrated that the negro is not capable of self government. This I deny, so far as the negro of the United States is concerned—and with him only are we now dealing. Suppose he has been a failure in Liberia, in San Domingo, and in Hayti. How many failures has the Caucasian made in the same line? Are not the shores of the history of the world strewn with the wrecks of republics attempted by the Caucasian race? But we now boast that our efforts, under the peculiar conditions of America, are a success. Is not also the negro of the United States occupying a position, born into a condition, if you please, that gives him every opportunity over those of Hayti or San Domingo? With the chances for education this country affords, with the example of chivalry ever before, about, and around him like a halo of glory, being born into freedom through the scourge and fire of war, and *re-enforced by the best white blood of the South*, why, I ask, why should not the negro of this country be a success at self government? I answer, because he has never had a chance—because the lash or the shot gun has ever been too potent a factor in the neighborhood where he has lived, and have constantly intruded themselves upon his attempts for self government; thus giving no opportunity for expansion of his ideas, and the development of his faculties in that direction, while the subjection of their women to slavery and ignorance has dwarfed their manhood from and before birth.

3. What shall be done? Why, “the next best thing,” of course. And what is “the next best thing”? *The equal enforcement of the law throughout the whole country.* The negro is a citizen of this country; and while it may not solve the question, still while he is a citizen, it is the duty of every honest man to see to it that he has all the rights of a citizen. Those who refuse to listen to this simple dictate of right and justice, do not wish to solve the “race problem”—their only hope being to banish or silence the negro, leaving them unfettered and free from the troublesome question. No longer their slave, these people have no use for him. They now insolently say to the North: “Take him and solve the question. We do not want him, and you do. You fought for him—now take care of him,” turning thereby a deaf ear to the fact that for years upon years they of the South fought for him, legislated for him, imported him, bred him, nourished him, sold him, enslaved him, and finally insisted that they would have him, constitution or no constitution, and waged a fratricidal war for four years to establish a government, whose constitution made provision for his perpetuation among them. The “next best thing,” therefore, is to enforce the law without fear or favor.

4. Enforcing the right of suffrage will, of course, not be a solution of the "Race Problem," but it will go a great way toward it. That problem, to my thinking, will be solved hand in hand with the labor question; at any rate, one will aid the solution of the other. It may not be solved in our day, still it is our duty to agitate and investigate, and by doing so intelligently and earnestly, we may be able to hand down to our children a "book of knowledge," that they may know good from evil, and from the pages of which they may work out the problem.

That which is of the most importance now, is a *true understanding of the present situation*. We all agree on that. How and where shall we obtain this necessary data? We cannot hope for it from Senator Hampton and his followers. That much is clear. It is evident that those who took part in the heated discussions of *ante-bellum* days, and who, since the war, have, on account of partisan measures, never given their blood time to cool, are not to be relied upon. The biased party men, who for years fought to destroy our constitution in order to maintain their own "peculiar" ideas on this same question, and who now, through chagrin and wrath, openly accuse the defenders of our government as being the destroyers and violators of the constitution, will hardly afford a reliable source from which to obtain data for so important a discussion. Congress will not afford it, for if the committee of investigation be composed of Republicans and Democrats, we will have two reports; if of Republicans, Democrats, and Prohibitionists, we will have three reports; and if a fourth political party be added, we will have *four* reports. Nor can we rely upon those who make "flying" trips through the South, for such too fully confirm the old adage, that "a rolling stone gathers no moss."

The question then presents itself — How shall we obtain trustworthy data on which to discuss the "Race Problem"?

C. A. SEIDERS.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THOUGHTS ON THE DEATH PENALTY.

"Capital punishment is the peculiar and undeviating sign of barbarism. Where capital punishment is frequent, barbarism prevails; where it is rare, civilization predominates." — *Victor Hugo.*

A LONDON daily declares that the recent execution of Kemmler sent a thrill of horror around the globe. Let us hope it has done more: that it has forcibly brought before the minds of thousands of conscientious thinking men and women, not only the hideous spectacle of the death writhings of the man in the electric chair, but the broader and more important fact that capital punishment administered in any form is essentially a relic of a barbarous age, wholly unworthy of our present civilization; that the spirit that clamors for the blood of any human being belongs essentially to the beast in man's nature. The surest token of true progress is found in the increased appreciation of the sanctity of life. So long as a State places so little value on human existence that for any cause she slaughters her citizens, she will find numbers of the most degraded of her people following her example, with this important difference, — the State always acts with coolness and deliberation, while ninety per cent. of her children slay their fellow-men in the frenzy of passion or under the baleful influence of liquor, which has in most cases been purchased in saloons licensed by the State.

Without entering into any lengthy argument against capital punishment, which I believe to be one of the foulest blots on the face of our nineteenth century civilization, I wish to briefly notice a few of the leading barriers that prevent the immediate abolition of the death penalty, the chief and most important of which is I think the popular but erroneous idea relating to the efficacy of capital punishment compared with other methods of treatment. We hear constantly that capital punishment is the only method of restraining murderers. This has been reiterated until it has grown hoary with age and has all the prestige of generations of accumulated prejudice. Yet as a matter of fact we all know that it does not prevent men from taking the lives of their fellowmen. A number of sickening murders followed closely upon the heels of the execution of Kemmler, and this is no exception to the rule, as is shown by Mr. Tarbuck, secretary of the Howard Association, who declares that "it has often been noticed that executions have been immediately followed by an unusual 'crop' of murderers; for example, in 1870, shortly after the execution of Tropmann in Paris, for a peculiarly atrocious murder, several similar cases of wholesale slaughter occurred, including the seven-fold murder at Uxbridge." Mr. Tarbuck, after citing other instances, calls attention to the significant fact that "when men were hung by the dozen for forging one pound bank of England notes, *the crime did not diminish — IT INCREASED.*" The Rev. Dr. Roberts of England visited one hundred and sixty-seven convicts under sentence of death, all but three of whom *had personally witnessed executions.* A well-known executioner in Paris during his term of office hung twenty murderers who, to use his expression, had been "in constant attendance at gibbeting matinees." These are only straws, it is true, but they indicate the fallacy of the popular claim that capital punishment restrains murderers; while on the other

hand, a treatment of the guilty ones by the State, which while effective in protecting society at the same time answers the requirements of the most humane sentiments would, I believe, judging from the experiments that have been made in this direction, greatly reduce the number of murders committed, as well as work the redemption of a large per cent. of the condemned. On this point I wish to quote from the learned jurist and author, Sanford M. Green, late judge of the Supreme Court of Michigan, author of "Green's Practice" and other standard works, among which his manual on "Crime" is probably the most noteworthy. In his last named volume Judge Green says:—

"If there are any who still believe that life is more safe in those States where the murderer is put to death for his crime, a study of the effects of its abolition ought, it would seem, to be sufficient to correct the error. In Rhode Island, Michigan, and Wisconsin, where capital punishment was abolished from twenty-five to fifty years ago, human life has been as secure as in any other States of the Union, and much more so than in some of them where the death penalty is in force; and during the forty years since imprisonment for life was substituted for hanging in case of murder, in Michigan, but one case of murder by lynching under mob law has come to our knowledge. In Switzerland, that model and most peaceful republic of the Old World, capital punishment has existed as a legal enactment in but eight of the twenty-five cantons since 1879. . . . "In 1807," says Mr. Sparhawk (late consul at Zanzibar), "the death penalty was abolished in Portugal. It was not until the third year after that any appreciable change occurred, and since then, year by year, murders have decreased in number, till to-day there are not more than half as many as prior to its abolition, and are far below that of other countries, making allowance for difference in population."

These facts and hints are sufficient to show that the old-time claim does not rest on the bed rock of truth, and on it no longer can justification for capital punishment be urged.

Next, I wish to notice a point always raised by some zealous Christian [?] when this question is argued. The Bible, we are told, declares that "Whoso sheds man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." It is well to remember that the same Bible commanded the slaughter of all witches (Lev. xx. 27), and the attempt to carry out this mandate resulted in the frightful killing of the alleged witches as late as the tragedies of Salem. The same Bible declared that those who worked on the Sabbath day should be slain and later emphasized the terrible meaning of the law by giving a most graphic picture of the stoning to death of a poor man who gathered a few sticks on the Sabbath day. (Numbers xv. 32-36.) All of which simply illustrate the fact that the Jews in ancient times had few or no prison facilities, and, being far lower in the scale of civilization than they were in subsequent ages, were governed by a code of morals which, considered in the light of our present civilization, is essentially barbarous and oftentimes outrages our every sense of right and justice, while, nevertheless, it was undoubtedly as enlightened as their civilization at that time could brook.

The attitude of many professed Christians is to me a never failing source of surprise. With what tenacity they cling to the letter of the *Old Testament law*, paying no heed to Paul's declaration to the Jews of his time that their law was a *schoolmaster to bring them to Christ*; that is, an instructor directing their eyes toward a higher dispensation of light and civilization. Moreover, aside from all this it seems incredible that any professed Christian should defend capital punishment, seeing that Christ with one majestic stroke swept away forever the foundation upon which all these retaliatory measures rest.

The doctrine of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life, was all wrong or else Christ was mistaken. He came as the herald of a loftier civilization than the Jews had ever seen. Note the following words of Jesus: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. . . . Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." That such authoritative commands, sweeping away as they did the whole superstructure of the savage and brutal code of retaliation, and coming from a humble appearing Galilean, were regarded as presumptuous and unpractical at that time, is not surprising; but how, after nearly two thousand years of pretended advocacy of his doctrines his professed followers should persist in flying in the face of their Master's teaching, and insist on going back to a comparatively barbarous period, there to pick out, amid the multitude of obsolete laws and commands, this one for the purpose of bolstering up a savage custom that outrages every sense of refinement, every humane instinct, every manly impulse, has ever been incomprehensible to me. Let us be honest and keep our faces fronting the light. Let us not go backward beyond Gethsemane or at most further than Bethlehem for hints for the treatment of our fellow-men, who, owing to circumstances over which they have had little or no control, are more brutal than ourselves. I have supreme confidence in the ultimate triumph of the humane and civilized spirit which forbids the death penalty. The trend of civilization lies in that direction just as surely as the trend of human thought is upward, but confidence in this result should not deter all who oppose the hideous legacy of a dark and vanished past from ceaselessly working for its abolition. What though we are but atoms, place ten thousand such atoms in a state and we have a nucleus that will soon grow great enough to beat back every threatened wrong and potent enough to wipe out all existing evils.

POPULAR	The daily press of New York a few weeks since
CONTEMPT	knowingly and deliberately defied a recently enacted
FOR LAW.	statute of that State in a manner unparalleled in
	modern times, and although the newspapers coolly
	acknowledged that they had broken the law, the
	authorities did nothing, while the people as a whole
	were unquestionably in sympathy with the press.

We refer to the recent electrocution law which declares that "no account of the details of any such execution, beyond the statement of the fact that such convict was, on the day in question, duly executed according to law at the prison, shall be published in any newspaper. Any person who shall violate or omit to comply with any provision of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." Here we have a suggestive spectacle. The Metropolitan press contemptuously defies the law, and the public, if it does not applaud the act, certainly sympathizes with the law breakers.

That the press is right in its claim that the people ought to be apprised of the method in which they kill their offending brethren is undoubtedly true; yet on the other hand the plea advanced at the time the ill-considered bill became a law, that the publication of the details by the press had a bad effect on the morals of society, had much plausibility. It is not, however, my purpose to enter into the details of this special case. I merely wish to point out a bad tendency which is, year by year,

becoming more pronounced, and the causes which are producing the evil. There is no denying the fact that the old-time reverence entertained for law by the people is vanishing. There is growing up in every section of the country a contempt for our lawmakers and our judiciary, which I regard with the gravest apprehension; for the moment a nation becomes convinced that its laws are not based on justice and wisdom, or as soon as they lose faith in the judiciary, the zenith of that nation's glory has been passed, unless through some mighty convulsion, whether it be evolutionary and practically peaceful in its radical reform, or revolutionary and bloody in its result, the nation is reborn; as, for instance, was France after her baptism of blood. It is a fact worthy of note that while our people are naturally law-abiding, the old respect for statutory enactments which pervaded the minds of our fathers when laws were comparatively few, and when far greater deliberation was deemed necessary before any bill was enacted, holds far less sway over the public mind than in former days, and what is more significant, is becoming less and less with each recurring decade.

In former days liberty was accounted of the first importance and great reliance was placed on the inherent manhood and instinctive sense of right and justice that pervaded the masses. Few laws, and those based strictly on universally accepted principles of justice, were deemed necessary, while the greatest possible toleration characterized the policy of the early statesmen who laid the broad foundation for this Republic. Since then a great change has taken place. The baleful miasma of European paternalism has insidiously permeated the atmosphere of liberty. The old ideals have long been vanishing. That healthy confidence in manhood that was such a strong characteristic of our people has in a great measure given place to the pernicious doctrine of governmental state or municipal protection and intervention. The reaction of late years has taken the form of a craze—for everything we must have a law. The people are incapable of self-government; they must be treated as children. They must be looked after by the State. Usually behind the pleasing front of the protective law stands an interested party. The glove of philanthropy generally conceals the hand of tyrannical monopoly or selfish avarice. In other cases law-makers are anxious to make a name. They seize on every ill-considered suggestion advanced by the press or on the passing sentiment of the hour and promptly come forward with a bill to regulate this or that, quite reckless as to what it may injure or upon whose legitimate liberty it may infringe.

The case referred to above illustrates this case. A passing popular fancy, that the publication of the details of an execution were injurious, was seized upon and a law passed making the publishers of any newspaper which gave an extended account guilty of misdemeanor. The press defied the statute, thus adding to the general contempt for law, which has for years been gaining ground. If Congress fails to enact laws enough, the legislature can be depended upon to burden the statute books with a multitude of measures which in many cases are cruel, unjust, and discriminative. Then below the legislature we have the municipal government, almost as active as the superior bodies.

In this manner, as laws multiply reverence for law diminishes; for the people quickly recognize the difference between a wise statute based on the broad principles of equal justice, and petty, ill-advised or immature measures, prompted by prejudice, avarice, or a passing whim of public sentiment. Again our law-makers are not as a rule wise or far-seeing statesmen. They may be well-meaning but they too often fall under the blighting influence of a mercenary lobby and the people are coming more and more to understand this fact. A real danger threatens any nation when her people become convinced that

laws are being passed which are unjust and oppressive, or which are enacted through the influence of interested parties for private or personal profit. Another reason for the decadence in respect for law is found in the discriminations that are made when the offenders are powerful; when they have social or monetary prestige. When a people lose confidence in their judiciary and other officers who are elected or appointed to secure justice, and when the public lethargy is so great that no general reform movement can gain sufficient momentum to crush all opposition, a government is in the presence of a danger far greater than the armies or navies of hostile lands.

